

ARCHBISHOP
WHITGIFT
AND HIS TIMES



REV. H. J. CLAYTON.

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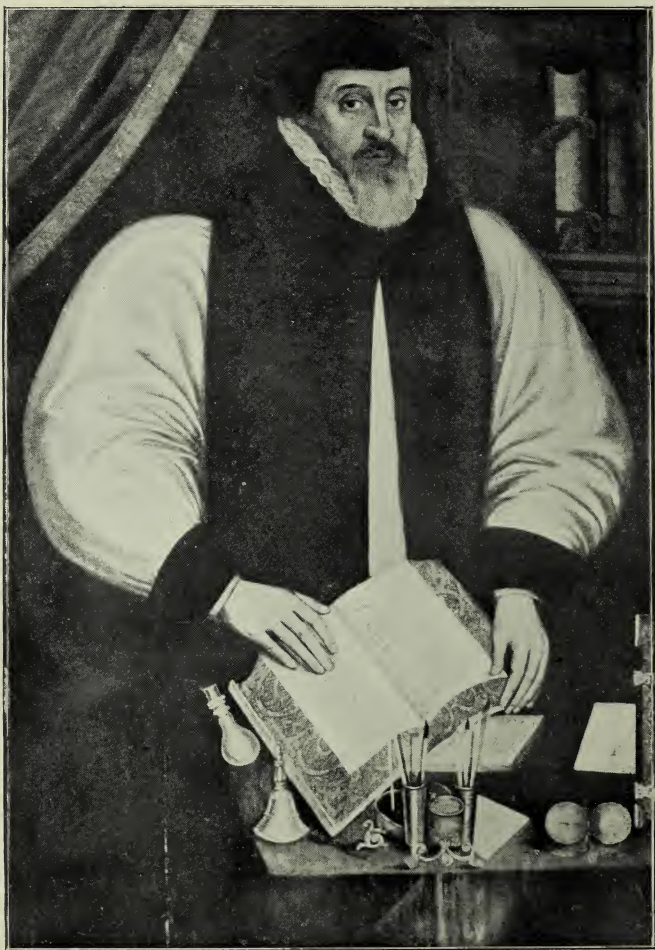
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AND HIS TIMES

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ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT (FROM THE PAINTING IN THE CHAPEL OF
TRINITY HOSPITAL, CROYDON).

Frontispiece.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT AND HIS TIMES

BY THE
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FOR DEFENCE AND INSTRUCTION)

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PREFACE

THE memory of Archbishop Whitgift is writ large upon the town of Croydon which he loved so well. His Hospital or Almshouse with its quiet quadrangle and peaceful chapel still stands in the main street of the town, in spite of the efforts which some have made, in this utilitarian age, to destroy it so as to widen the street and relieve the heavy traffic of a busy town. The Whitgift Grammar School and Whitgift Modern School provide a sound education for a large number of Croydonians, many of their alumni having attained high and important positions. The palace where he so often lived has entered, after careful restoration, upon a new career as a school conducted by the Sisters of the Church. His body rests in Croydon parish church; while his tomb (with its effigy of the Archbishop, in rochet, scarlet chimere and tippet), which was damaged in the fire of 1867, has been re-erected, though apparently not in its old position in the south-east corner of the chapel. Among the many streets bearing the name of famous Archbishops of Canterbury is Whitgift Street. Outside the Free Library is a seated figure, poorly executed, of the Archbishop, whilst inside there is a valuable collection of Whitgift

literature. The writer would take this opportunity of tendering his thanks to the assistants in the Reference Library, whose response to his many calls upon their time has always been given promptly and generously.

The materials for a life of Whitgift are abundant. His comptroller, Sir George Paule, was his earliest biographer, while Strype has left us three volumes of material, and his works have been re-issued by the Parker Society.

Whitgift worked at a crucial period in the history of the English Church, and was called upon to undertake a task which naturally alienated a part of the nation. The disciplinarian may be feared indeed, but is not generally loved, and it is as a disciplinarian that he will always be best known. The only words he was able to utter as he lay dying were "Pro Ecclesia Dei," and they are the fittest summary of his life and work. It was for the Church of God in this land, purified by the Reformation, but possessing an unbroken history all through the critical days of the sixteenth century, that he worked so strenuously. Should a complete breach with the past be made, and a new Church be set up, erected on the foundation of the Genevan Church, or should the National Church retain its continuity with the past? With that supreme question Whitgift was brought face to face through the efforts of the Puritans to introduce the Calvinistic doctrine, organization and discipline. It was no mere question of obedience to an Act of Uniformity, but—as the Bishop of Oxford says—"the question whether the religious life of England should be expressed in the continuance of the historic Church of England, or

in a system such as Calvin had established at Geneva.” We may think, indeed, that discipline was not the best method for dealing with conscientious objectors, but it must be remembered that we are concerned with the sixteenth century, not the twentieth century, and also that the objectors were not a body outside the communion of the Church of England, but a highly determined party inside it, a party backed up by the Earl of Leicester and by a large Parliamentary following, and a party which was attempting to subvert the constitution of the Church from within. The interest of Whitgift’s life centres round this controversy, one in which, as Isaac Walton says, “he had many trials of his courage and patience; but his motto was, *Vincit qui patitur*: and he made it good.”

H. J. C.

Croydon.

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

JOHN WHITGIFT, the third of the Elizabethan Archbishops of Canterbury, was born at Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire, in 1530.¹ He came of an old Yorkshire stock, his grandfather John Whitgift having two sons, Henry and Robert, and one daughter, Isabel. Robert became abbot of the Augustinian or Black Canons at Wellow near Grimsby; Isabel married Michael Sheller, a verger at St. Paul's Cathedral; while Henry settled as a merchant at Grimsby, marrying Anne Dynewell, by whom he had six sons, the eldest being John the future primate, and one daughter. As the Archbishop did not die till the year 1604, his life covered the earlier half of the Reformation period of the history of the Church of England. At his death the struggle was by

¹ There is some uncertainty regarding the date of Whitgift's birth. Francis Thynne says he was born in 1533, and a portrait at Lambeth gives him as sixty-eight in 1602, but, as he declared that in 1590 he had reached the age of sixty, the more probable date is 1530, a date which allows time for his education at Wellow before the dissolution of that monastery.

no means ended, for it is not till the restoration of Church and State in 1660, after the Great Rebellion, that one can speak of a final settlement of religion. Yet, by the end of the sixteenth century, the period of transition was ended. The series of "experiments in Anglicanism" had been worked out. The Henrician reformation aimed at Popery without the Pope, for the changes in that reign were practical rather than doctrinal in character; under Edward VI there was a doctrinal reformation, with considerable alteration in the manner in which the faith of the Church was expressed; under Mary both Popery and the papal jurisdiction were restored. The question to be settled in Elizabeth's reign was the manner in which the religious sentiments of the nation were to be expressed. On the one side were the returned exiles, pressing for further and drastic reformation on the lines of the Continental reformation with which they had become acquainted, at first hand, while absent from England during the Marian reaction; while on the other hand there were those of the Roman way of thinking, content with the Marian reversal of policy, and desiring the continuation of the *status quo*. Between these was the party which may best be described by the word Anglican, a party of which Archbishop Parker may be taken as the best known representative. The ecclesiastical interest of Elizabeth's reign centres round the struggle for mastery between these parties, and in this strife Whitgift was to play a leading part.

His early schooldays were passed in London at the famous St. Anthony's School, between Broad Street and Threadneedle Street, a school attached to St.

X Anthony's Hospital, a religious and charitable foundation for the residence of twelve poor men. Already had the school turned out two famous men, Sir Thomas More and Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York. Whitgift's schooldays were by no means pleasant, for he resided with his aunt Isabel in St. Paul's Churchyard. She was a strong supporter of the unreformed faith, while the seeds of the Reformation had already been sown in the heart of Whitgift. Before he came to London he had received instruction from his uncle Robert, the Abbot of Wellow, of whom it is reported that he told his nephew, "They and their religion could not long continue, because I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by God." Whitgift refused to go to morrow-mass with his aunt, and was accordingly turned out of doors, the good woman attributing all her domestic worries and troubles to the fact that she was harbouring such a young heretic, for "she thought at first she had received a saint into her house, but now she perceived he was a devil."

In 1550 he proceeded to Cambridge, entering in the first place at Queens' College, but soon migrating to Pembroke. The first stage of the Reformation was now ended. The breach with Rome had been effected. Henry VIII was dead and Edward VI on the throne. The First Prayer Book had been issued in the previous year, but it was evident that a determined body of men were pressing for a stringent revision, and in two years' time the Second Prayer Book was to make its appearance. The Master of Pembroke was Nicholas

Ridley (Bishop of Rochester 1547-1550, Bishop of London 1550-1555), the man who in the year of Whitgift's matriculation, proceeded to destroy the stone altars in his diocese of London, and substitute for them wooden tables; while among the fellows of the college were Grindal, whom he was to succeed as Archbishop of Canterbury, and John Bradford, who was one of the best known of the Protestant martyrs in Mary's reign, and became Whitgift's first tutor.

Whitgift was not one of the Marian exiles, but remained quietly at the University, engaged in study and in college tuition. He had made up his mind to withdraw, knowing that he could not satisfactorily answer the questions which would be submitted by Mary's visitors, but on the advice of Dr. Perne, the Master of Peterhouse, that he should not declare his views publicly, he resolved to remain. Perne was one of those who did conform in Mary's reign (the Martin Marprelate Tracts refer to him as "old Turner"), and had already shown great kindness to Whitgift during a serious illness. He was not forgotten in later days, for he was often entertained at Lambeth Palace, where he died in 1589, being buried in Lambeth Church. Whitgift took Holy Orders in 1560, preaching his first sermon shortly afterwards at Great St. Mary's on the text, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ" (Rom. i. 16). The same year he came under the favourable notice of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, one of the returned exiles, though not an extremist, and was made one of his chaplains, receiving also the rectory of Teversham, Cambridgeshire; while in 1563 he proceeded B.D., and was promoted to the Lady

Margaret Professorship of Divinity, lecturing on the Apocalypse and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

On the Continent the Reformation had assumed two forms, the Lutheran and the Calvinistic, and it was to Basle, Zurich, Geneva, Strassburg, and Frankfort-on-Main, but especially to the centres of the Calvinistic reformation, that the English reformers, some 800 to 1000 in number, had fled during the Marian reaction. The accession of Elizabeth had opened the way for their return, and it was but natural that they should press for drastic reformation in the English Church, their pattern and standard of perfection being the foreign Calvinistic congregations. The field of selection for the higher posts in the Church was extremely limited—no less than twenty-five bishoprics becoming vacant early in the reign—and many of these returned exiles were promoted. Some, indeed, were like Jewel of Salisbury, who “grew out of his Calvinism and grew into Anglicanism,”¹ but some accepted promotion though entirely out of sympathy with the Church’s doctrine and organization, using their positions as points of leverage by which they might effect the desired changes. Moderate reformers like Jewel, Sandys, and Grindal were willing to conform, but extremists like Humphrey, the President of Magdalen, and Sampson, the Dean of Christ Church, refused to do so, though holding important official positions. The reformers had, while abroad, come into contact with, and been fascinated by, the clear-cut and sharply-defined Calvinistic reformation. What more natural, then, than that they should desire to see the English Church brought

¹ Creighton, *The Church under Elizabeth*, p. 12.

into complete and perfect agreement with the continental Churches of their adoption? They made no request for toleration, no demand that the basis of the Church of England should be so broadened as to provide a home for men of their opinions side by side with others. Their demand was that the whole ecclesiastical system should be taken to pieces and then reconstructed on the basis of the narrowest and most complete form of Calvinism. Puritanism, it has been said, was begotten in the days of Edward VI, born, but beyond seas, in the reign of Mary, nursed and weaned in the reign of Elizabeth. Bishop Paget quotes the words, and rightly adds that "it was a very lusty and hopeful infant that was brought from the lands of its birth and exile when Elizabeth came to the throne."¹ Cambridge was the chief stronghold of these opinions, and Neal rightly calls it "a nest of Puritans." Whitgift was placed in the midst of such an atmosphere at a very early period of his life. There need then be little surprise that he was a Calvinist, and, what is more, remained one to the end of his life. This, however, applies solely to the realm of doctrine, for it was to be the irony of affairs that the chief opponent and repressor of the Calvinistic Presbyterian system of Church government was to be the Calvinistic theologian Whitgift.

For a right understanding of Whitgift's work it is all important that we should, at the outset, be perfectly clear as to what was involved in Calvinism. Calvin's English disciples were aiming at a subversion of the Church from three points of view, for their platform

¹ *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 14.

consisted of three prominent demands. The Church must be reconstructed as regards doctrine, government, and discipline. The Church's doctrine of the sufficiency of the Death of Christ for all the sins of all men was denied in favour of the theory that that Death availed only for the predestinate, for not only have some been predestinated to eternal happiness, but some have been predestinated to eternal condemnation. The threefold ministry, which has existed in the Church from apostolic times, was to be abolished in favour of the Presbyterian plan; while a new system of church courts was to be introduced for disciplinary purposes, a system in which the supreme power was placed in the hands of the presbytery, a system all too truly described by Milton, in later days, as one where "new presbyter is but old priest writ large."

At first, however, the attack made by the Puritans on the Church was fought out on a lower level, viz. on the question of vestments. The Act of Uniformity and the Ornaments' Rubric of the Elizabethan Prayer Book quite clearly restored the vestments used in the days of the First Prayer Book of Edward VI.¹ There

¹ Act of Uniformity—"Provided always, and be it enacted, that such ornaments of the Church, and of the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI, until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Commissioners appointed and authorized under the great seal of England for causes ecclesiastical or of the metropolitan of this realm."

Ornaments' Rubric—"And here it shall be noted, that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at other times in his ministration, shall use such ornaments in the Church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the

had been trouble on this matter in Edward's reign, with the result that the vestments were abolished in the Second Prayer Book. This had not ended the controversy, for there had been a split among the exiles regarding clerical dress. The degree of absorption of Calvinistic ideas had varied. Some regarded the surplice and square cap as popish and idolatrous, while others were more reasonable. "We gave them up, not as being impure and papistical, which certain of our brethren charged them with being; but whereas they were in their nature indifferent, and either ordained or allowed by godly fathers for the edification of the people, as notwithstanding chose rather to lay them aside, than offend the minds or alienate the affections of the brethren."¹ On the return of the exiles the trouble was bound to rise again. The first mutterings of the storm could be heard in the letter sent by Gualter of Zurich to Elizabeth on January 16, 1559, in which he assured the Queen that "the new piece of evangelical doctrine will not suit the old garments of superstitions." No doubt it appears a small matter, and one on which the Church authorities could well have afforded to be generous, especially to people who had conscientious scruples, but though the fight was waged over a matter of detail, there was a vital principle underlying it, since the historic dress of the clergy symbolized the continuity of the Elizabethan Church with the pre-Reformation Church in England.

second year of the reign of King Edward VI, according to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this book."

¹ Cox, Bacon, Sandys, Grindal and others to Calvin from Frankfort, April 5, 1555.

To the extremists, the dress of the clergy was nothing but a remnant of popery, requiring abolition if the Church was to be thoroughly reformed. A complete breach with the past was demanded. It is no exaggeration to say that for some years ceremonial was in a state of chaos and anarchy. Cecil's description of affairs in 1564 has often been quoted: "Some say the service and prayers in the chancel, others in the body of the church; some say the same in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep precisely the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say in a surplice, others without a surplice; the table standeth in the body of the church in some places, in others it standeth in the chancel; in some places the table standeth altarwise, distant from the wall a yard, in some places in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it standeth upon tressels; in some places the table hath a carpet, in others it hath not; administration of the Communion is done by some with surplice and cap, some with surplice only, others with none; some with chalice, others with a Communion cup, others with a common cup; some with unleavened bread, some with leavened; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptize in a font, some in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not. Apparel—some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat."¹ If a

¹ "It may be Grindal's account of London diocese. It seems to be in his handwriting, and the varieties recorded correspond largely to those subsequently found in that

particular instance is preferred to a general description, such is provided from the parish of Eastwell, Kent, a case which came under Whitgift's own observation at a later date. His commissary, Dr. Lakes, reported that "the order of prayer was not used according to the order of the Book of Common Prayer, for divers things were pretermitted, as the Exhortation, the Absolution, the Venite, the Te Deum, the Creed, the three Collects, the Creed of St. Athanasius, the Litany. The way he performed the service was to begin with the general Confession and the Lord's Prayer, then to read the Psalms and Lessons, then to sing a psalm in metre, then a sermon of an hour and a half, then another psalm and an extemporary prayer. When Holy Communion was celebrated the table was set in the body of the church. The clergyman used the Lord's Prayer and the Collect 'Almighty God, unto Whom,' the Epistle and Gospel, and the general confession of the communicants. He then, without any consecration, used the words, 'The body of the Lord Jesus Christ which was given for us, preserve our bodies and souls unto everlasting life,' and delivered the sacramental bread to the communicants sitting in their pews, saying unto them, 'Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee.' Then taking the cup, he said, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for us, preserve our bodies and souls to everlasting life,' and, 'We drink this in remembrance that Christ died for us.' Then the cup was handed to one of the communicants, and he, after

diocese. But it is, perhaps, best to regard it as a general summary drawn up for Cecil" (Kennedy's *Parker*, p. 201).

drinking, handed it to another, and so on, a psalm of thanksgiving being meanwhile sung of the whole. In baptism, the father was called to answer the questions. The sign of the cross was omitted. The chancel was in a ruinous state and unused. The order appointed for churching of women was not used as directed; and at marriages the minister used an order of his own, omitting the order of the book.”¹

X It was as an attempt to put an end to this ceremonial anarchy that Archbishop Parker issued the Advertisements in 1566.² It is in connection with these that we return to Whitgift's career. The question of the wearing of the surplice and square cap was a prominent one at Cambridge, where George Withers, a stiff Non-conformist on this matter, “stirred up a racket for the reformation of the University windows,” “whereupon followed a great destruction of them.” He was summoned to London by Parker, and on March 24, 1565, the Archbishop wrote to Cecil that “Withers is come to me cum magna confidentia, vultu senatorio. . . . I think that non solum iam periculum vertitur in ritibus vestium tantummodo, sed omnium rituum in universum, and therefore prudence would be taken.” His licence to preach was found to be irregular, and as he “refused to enter bonds for wearing of the cornered cap,” he was suspended from preaching, but on the persuasion of his flock agreed rather than cease his ministrations. Similarly, at St. John's College, there was considerable

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. V.

² The question of the authority of the Advertisements is discussed in the Report of the Sub-Committee of the Canterbury Upper House of Convocation on “The Ornaments of the Church and its Ministers,” 1908, pp. 71-84.

trouble over the surplice. Fulke (afterwards Master of Pembroke and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity) had "left off wearing a square cap and used a hat," and had preached violently against the use of the surplice, both in St. Mary's and in St. John's Chapel. The college became so excited that "in fine they waxed so hot that they would abide no such garment upon them," and one festival day Longworth, the Master, being absent, "the most part of the College company" appeared in chapel without their surplices. Cecil, as Chancellor, consulted Parker, reported the matter to the Queen, and summoned Fulke and Longworth to London. Fulke was compelled to read a confession of his wrongdoing before the whole college, and to promise to observe and enforce order for the future.¹ Parker was hard at work preparing the Advertisements,² and an appeal against their rumoured contents was made to the Chancellor by certain members of the University. The appeal is dated November 26,³ and among the signatories was Whitgift. The Chancellor wrote sharply in reply, and Beaumont, the Master of Trinity, whose name stood first among the signatories, was compelled to apologize. This, however, was but a passing phase in Whitgift's career, for in later days no one was to be so strict in his demand for uniformity in public worship as Whitgift the protester against the use of the surplice and square cap.

Honours at the University lay before him, for in

¹ See Strype's *Parker*, Book III, Cap. III.

² The Advertisements are given in full in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, No. lxxxi.

³ Strype's *Parker*, Appendix, No. xxxix.

1566 he was licensed as University preacher, and the esteem in which he was held may be estimated by the fact that his salary as Lady Margaret Professor was raised from twenty marks to twenty pounds per annum. The following year he became Master of Pembroke Hall, *vice* Hutton, made Regius Professor of Divinity, proceeding to his Doctorate of Divinity, his thesis being on the identity of the Pope and antichrist. The letter of the Pembroke authorities to Grindal shows the esteem in which he was held at Cambridge. They expressed "their great grief for the departure of their former Master from them; who was ever very dear to them for his notable learning, holiness of life, and great love to them. And that they could not have parted so easily with him, but that his Lordship's authority, that might do anything with them, had interposed; that he had revived them by propounding to their choice such a person; for whom they would have, of their own accord, addressed to his Lordship with their prayers; and that he, whom the Bishop had said he hoped he should obtain for them, was a person they themselves wished to have, and whom being so worthy they could scarce hope to have. And therefore they did extremely congratulate themselves and their studies; and above all, gave their thanks that the Riddleys were not so wholly rooted out from among them, but that Grindal, one fibre of that root, remained, whence Hutton sprang under whom they received considerable strength, and whence also after him Whitgift arose, whom also they wished for, and desired above any else."¹

Whitgift's tenure of the Mastership of Pembroke

¹ Strype, Book I, Cap. II.

was of short duration, for three months later, July 1567, he was made Master of Trinity College, and soon afterwards Regius Professor of Divinity, while in the following year he was made a canon of Ely. His action regarding the use of the surplice and square cap had evidently not been forgotten, and there were heard rumours of Nonconformity on his part, so that it became necessary for him to clear himself of such accusations if he hoped to receive promotion and become Master of Trinity. On June 17 he wrote to Cecil thanking him for benefits already received, and adding, "it is not unknown unto me what is of me reported unto your honour, whiles you intend of your mere and singular goodness to place me in Trinity College. The which, how true they be God shall judge in that day when all secrets shall be revealed." He asks that "it be judged what I am by my doings, and not by the report of those who do not to me as they would themselves be done unto. As touching my nonconformity (which is one thing laid against me), I dare to be judged by my lord of Canterbury's grace, your honour, or my lord of London, or master dean of York, who knoweth more of my mind in that matter than any man doth beside. I never encouraged any to withstand the Queen's majesty's laws in that behalf, but I both have, and do by all means I can, seek to persuade men to conform themselves. For it grieveth me that any man should cease from preaching for the use of these things, being of themselves indifferent." ¹

As Master of Trinity Whitgift was no mere figure-head. In 1576 he endeavoured to stop the buying and

¹ *Works* (Parker Society's Edition), pp. 597, 598.

selling of scholarships and fellowships, whereby the capacity of men's pockets was considered more than the capacity of their brains. An even more noteworthy action was that of 1569, whereby he resisted the claims which were made by Westminster School upon the scholarships at Trinity. They took up so many places that room was left for scarcely any other deserving men. The arrangement finally reached was that Westminster should send up two scholars only a year to each University, and three every third year. Macaulay's estimate of Whitgift will have to be considered later on. It is satisfactory, however, to note that he was not so biassed by prejudice as not to be able to recognize the wisdom of this action of Whitgift's, though he does foolishly describe it as the only good action of his life. "He stood up manfully against those who wished to make Trinity College a mere appendage to Westminster School; and by this act, the only good act, as far as we remember, of his long public life, he saved the noblest place of education in England from the degrading fate of King's College and New College."¹ These actions by no means exhaust his activity at Cambridge, for his greatest and most important work there was his controversy with Cartwright, in which he appears as the disciplinarian, Cartwright being the disciplined one.

¹ Essay on Bacon.

CHAPTER II

WHITGIFT AND CARTWRIGHT

THE outstanding figure among the Puritans in Elizabeth's reign was Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; a man who was regarded by Beza as the most learned person under the sun. His hold on the University is testified to by the fact that his preaching power was so extraordinary that when he preached, not only was Great St. Mary's Church full, but the crowds were so large that it became necessary to take down the windows so that every one might hear him. Bishop Paget regards him as "a man who would have been prominent in any age,"¹ and quotes the well-known estimate of Green: "No leader of a religious party ever deserved less of after sympathy than Cartwright. He was unquestionably learned and devout, but his bigotry was that of a mediæval inquisitor."² While the Bishop of Oxford considers this too severe an estimate, he is compelled to say that "with a definite conception of the end Cartwright combined a lack of carefulness about the means."³ The extent of his lack of toleration for the opinions of others can readily be seen from the words

¹ *Introduction to Fifth Book of Hooker*, p. 27.

² *Short History*, pp. 455, 456.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

of his second reply to Whitgift. "The same severity of punishment that was used against false prophets then [*i. e.* under the Mosaic law] ought to be used now under the Gospel against false teachers comparing one person and circumstance with another. As he that hath fallen away from God and gone about to draw others away: to be handled according to the law prescribed in that Chapter xiii of Deuteronomy. If this be bloody and extreme I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost." ¹

The controversy between Whitgift and Cartwright arose in November 1570, when the former was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University. He had already organized new statutes for the University. A "caput" had been called into existence, elected annually, and consisting of the chancellor, a doctor of each of the three faculties, with a regent and a non-regent Master of Arts. Taking advantage of these new statutes, the caput proceeded in December 1570, by the instrumentality of Whitgift, to deprive Cartwright of the Lady Margaret Professorship to which he had been appointed the previous year. At the same time he was inhibited from preaching within the jurisdiction of the University, and in the following September he was also deprived of his fellowship at Trinity, on the ground that he had not proceeded to priest's orders within the statutory period. Whitgift was in correspondence with Archbishop Parker regarding the matter, stating, in one of his letters, that he would have expelled him sooner had he known the facts of the case, and thereby he would have saved himself and the college much trouble and

¹ *Second Replie*, p. cxv.

controversy. Naturally these acts of discipline caused trouble among the friends and followers of Cartwright. Whitgift offered to argue the controverted matters either in writing or in public, and even thought of leaving Cambridge. Some at least of the University authorities were on his side, for six heads of houses appealed to Burghley on September 28, 1572, asking him to prevent Whitgift's departure by showing him some special act of favour, for they considered his action both wise and beneficial, and regarded the University as greatly in his debt for the manner in which he had repressed insolence and maintained learning and well doing.

xx The desired mark of favour came in the following year, for in June 1573 he was made Dean of Lincoln, and in the following year the Archbishop allowed him to retain the Mastership of Trinity, his canonry at Ely, the rectory of Teversham, and any other benefice he might choose, together with the deanery. This he did, and though he resigned Teversham, he at once accepted the rectory of Laceby, Lincolnshire, instead. xx In this year, too, his work was carried to a wider field, for he was selected to preach the Latin sermon at the opening of Convocation—a sermon in which he dealt with the institution and authority of synods, the enemies of the Church, Puritan and Papist, the use of vestments and ornaments, and the business to be transacted by the Convocation—and was also elected to the position of Prolocutor of the Canterbury Lower House of Convocation.

Though Cartwright had been deprived of his official posts in the University he was by no means silenced,

for he now assumed the leading place in the second phase of the Puritan attack on the Church. The old strife regarding clerical dress continued, but was no longer regarded as the all-important matter. From vestments the controversy passed to the question of Church government. In the indictment sent to Cecil as Chancellor, by Dr. Chaderton, the charge against Cartwright was that he had taught that "in the Church of England there was no lawful and ordinary calling and choosing or admitting of ministers, and that the election of ministers and bishops at this day was tyrannous; and that archbishops, deans, archdeacons, etc., were offices and names of impiety." A letter of Cox, Bishop of Ely, dated February 12, 1571, gives a clear idea of the Puritanism of that date. "They inveigh in their sermons, which are of too popular a character, against the Popish filth and the monstrous habits, which, they exclaim, are the ministers of impiety and eternal damnation. Nothing moves them; neither the authority of the State, nor of our Church, nor of her most Serene Majesty, nor of brotherly warning, nor of pious exhortation. . . . By the vehemence of their harangues they have so maddened the wretched multitude and driven some of them to that pitch of frenzy, that they now obstinately refuse to enter our churches, either to baptize their children, or to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to hear sermons. . . . They seek bye-paths; they establish a private religion, and assemble in private houses, and there perform their sacred rites, as the Donatists of old and the Anabaptists now." ¹

¹ *Zurich Letters*, I, p. 237.

The First and Second Admonitions to Parliament made their appearance in 1572. They were addressed to the Parliament because there was a strong Puritan party in the House of Commons, a party which was prepared to undertake legislation for the Church in spite of the fact of the Queen's well-known views that ecclesiastical legislation ought to be initiated by herself or Convocation, and not by Parliament. The previous year the guillotine had descended upon proposals for Parliamentary control of the Church, when the Speaker had signified "her Highness' pleasure, that from henceforth no more Bills concerning religion should be preferred or received into this House unless the same should be first considered and liked by the clergy." Convocation was regarded by the Puritans as entirely hostile to their propaganda, and their hopes were centred accordingly on the Commons, from whom they hoped to gain their ends by purely civil legislation. The First Admonition was from the pens of Field and Wilcox, the former of whom was one of the men who had met at Wandsworth to draw up and establish a Presbyterian organization; the Second was written by Cartwright himself. In the first place it is important to notice that the Admonitions made no request for toleration. The goal aimed at was complete and absolute supremacy and ascendancy. Cartwright maintained, accordingly, in the Second Admonition that "The Civil Magistrate (the nurse and foster-father of the Church) shall do well to provide some sharp punishment for those that contemn this censure and discipline of the Church." ¹

¹ Frere, *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. 122.

The two Admonitions at once attained an extraordinary degree of popularity. The first edition was sold out by the end of August, and a second edition, with additions, was issued; while in October further editions contained additional pieces, viz. "An Exhortation to the Bishops to deal brotherly with their brethren," and "An Exhortation to the bishops and their clergy to answer a little book that came forth the last Parliament, and to other brethren to judge of it by God's word, until they see it answered, and not to be carried away with any respect of man." Hooker rightly says that the Admonitions were "bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this Church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva," continuing in words which have often been quoted, "concerning the defender of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say is this: there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit;"¹ while Strype describes them as "utterly condemning the present church," and as based on "two false principles and rotten pillars."² The break with the past was to be complete, for "we in England are so far off from having a church rightly reformed, according to the prescript of God's word, that as yet we are not come to the outward face of the same."³ The object, therefore, of the writers is to offer "a true platform of a church reformed, to the end that it being laid

¹ *Eccl. Pol.*, Preface ii, 10.

² Book I, Cap. VI, and Book I, Cap. IX.

³ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

before your eyes, to behold the great unlikeness betwixt it and this our English Church; you may learn either with perfect hatred to detest the one, and with singular love to embrace and careful endeavour to plant the other; or else to be without excuse before the majesty of our God, Who (for the discharge of our conscience, and manifestation of His truth) hath by us revealed unto you at this present the sincerity and simplicity of His Gospel.”¹ There were three main errors in the Church. In the first place there was no right ministry of the Word, for though there were some who preached the true doctrine, they had not been rightly proved, elected, called, ordained. Accordingly there follows a violent attack, directed against the whole system of election, ordination, preferment, preaching, apparel, ecclesiastical titles and dignities, the use of set form of prayers, private communion, the churching of women, the observance of holy days, and the like. Secondly there was much that was wrong with the ministration of the sacraments, and so another violent attack ensues, this time addressed against the Communion Office, an attack which incidentally throws much valuable light upon the ceremonial in use at the time.² In the third place there was the question of

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

² “A full description is given of the bowing at the sacred name, ‘when Jesus is named, then off goth the cappe and down go the knees with such a scraping on the ground that they cannot hear a good while after.’ Elsewhere we learn that the custom of using service time merely as a time for private prayer had not died out in spite of the Royal Injunction to the contrary. ‘Another hath so little feeling of the common prayer that he bringeth a booke of his owne. and though he sitte when they sitte, stand when they stande,

ecclesiastical discipline. The Orders should be three in number, preachers or pastors, seniors or elders, and deacons. The whole ecclesiastical hierarchy must go, an end being made of bishops, suffragans, chancellors, archdeacons, officials, etc. "Instead of an Archbishop or Lord Bishop you must make equality of ministers." ¹ To the ministers, seniors, and deacons "is the whole regiment of the Church to be committed." This regiment "consisteth especially in ecclesiastical discipline, which is an order left by God unto His Church, whereby men learn to frame their wills and doings according to the law of God, by instructing and admonishing one another, yea, and by correcting and punishing all wilful persons, and contemners of the same"; ² while "the final end of this discipline is the reforming of the disordered, and to bring them to repentance, and to bridle such as would offend. The chiefest part and last punishment of this discipline is excommunica-

and kneele when they kneele, he may pause sometime also, but most of all he intendeth his owne booke.' The singing of the gospel and lessons was still in use. The wearing of the veil was insisted on in the case of the woman who came to be churched, though it was regarded with horror by the precisians; and later the right to insist upon it was tested in the courts. The rogation-tide procession retained some of its old ceremonies, 'when banners and bells with the prieste in his surplesse, singing gospels and making crosses, rangeth aboute in many places.' At weddings there was perhaps still some blessing of the ring 'which they fowly abuse and dally withall, taking it up and laying it down.' In this case the Puritans were annoyed because there was no veil. The funeral customs also came in for a special censure, and the cautious prayer for the dead which the service involved" (*ibid.*, pp. xxvi, xxvii).

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² *Ibid.*, p. 16.

tion, by the consent of the Church determined, if the offender be obstinate." ¹

The Second Admonition is unmethodical, but equally clear that a complete breach with the past must be effected, for "we are so scarce come to the outward face of a Church rightly reformed, that although some truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher may, without great danger of the laws, utter all truth comprised in the book of God." ² There must be the expressed warrant of Holy Scripture for everything that is done in the Church, for "none is so high in the Church as Christ, none to do anything, nor anything to be done in His Church, but as it is appointed in His Word, either by precise or general direction"; ³ and again, "whereas our Church yet misseeth of the right course of the scriptures in our reformation, let your learned men be driven to draw a platform out of God's book (where it is described at full) according to His will in the same revealed, and the examples of the best Churches beyond the seas, as Geneva, France, etc. And the only cause why our Church differeth from the churches reformed of the strangers, or among ourselves, or they among themselves, is because our Church suffereth not itself so to be directed by the course of the scriptures as another doth, except it be in those things of order, wherein one parish may many times differ from another without offence, following the general rules of the scripture for order, as in appointing time and place for prayers, and so forth." ⁴ A sufficient maintenance must be provided for the

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

ministry, so that "in every parish they may have a preaching pastor, one or more, that may only intend that charge." ¹ If no other way of doing this can be found, "then have the bishops and cathedral churches temporalities enough, to redeem those livings that be impropriated, or otherwise out, and to better those livings which are too small, and as I think to be employed to other good uses of the church also." ² There must be a parity of ministers, for "you must repeal your statute or statutes, whereby you have authorized that ministry that now is, making your estate partly to consist of lords spiritual (as you call them) and making one minister higher than another, appointing also an order to ordain ministers, which order is clean differing from the scriptures, wherefore you must have the order for these things drawn out of the scriptures." ³

There are but two kinds of ministers, "namely, pastors and teachers, which do not differ in dignity, but in distinction of office, and exercise of their gifts, and yet in many things their office is so like that they are confounded in the name of elders, as also the governors are with the ministers in the same name confounded." ⁴ The ministers are to be appointed in accordance with the Presbyterian method. "When such an one is found, to whom the parish must give consent, because there is no just cause to be alleged against him, the next conference by whose means he was procured shall be certified of the parish's liking, whereupon they shall among themselves agree upon one of the ministers, which shall be sent by them to the same parish, and

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

² *Ibid.*, p. 95.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

after a sermon made according to the occasion, and earnest prayer to God with fasting according to the example of the scriptures, made by that congregation to God, that it would please Him to direct them in their choice, and to bless that man whom they choose, he shall require to know their consent, which, being granted, he and the elders shall lay their hands on him, to signify to him that he is lawfully called to that parish to be pastor there or teacher.”¹ In every parish there must be a consistory set up, consisting of the ministers of the congregation and the assistants chosen by the parish with prayer and fasting and the laying on of hands. This consistory is to “examine all disordered ceremonies used in place of prayer, and abolish those that they find evil or unprofitable,” to suffer no lewd customs to remain in the parish, to receive the information of the deacons for the relief of the poor, while “one or more of these assistants, with one of the ministers and a deacon or deacons, shall be those that shall, at their church’s charges, meet at the provincial council or national, if there be any business that concerneth their church.”²

While these extracts are sufficient to show the objects aimed at, they give no idea of the violence and scurrility with which the various points are pressed home. The Archbishop is “the Pope of Lambeth,” and he and his confederates “are none other but a remnant of Antichrist’s brood, and God amend them and forgive them, for else they bid battle to Christ and His Church, and it must bid the defiance to them till they yield.”³ Perhaps no passage gives a better illustra-

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 97. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 118–121. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

tion of Cartwright's lack of charity and temperance, together with hostility to all those who were unable to see eye to eye with him than the following. "And I beseech the whole state, and beseech God, that the whole state may bend themselves to have more and more care for the godly strangers that are of the churches in deed, and not to be grieved that they are so many, but to pity their present persecution and to comfort them. For the other swine that are not of the churches I pray God they may find little favour, except they repent and join themselves to the churches." ¹

It was evident that such a serious attack on the Church's position could not be allowed to pass unchallenged. Cooper, the Bishop of Lincoln, at once preached on the subject at St. Paul's Cross, on June 27, 1572, while on July 7 Field and Wilcox were committed to Newgate as the authors of the First Admonition. They admitted that they "wrote it in parliament time, which should be a time of plain speaking and writing freely, justly craving redress and reformation of many abuses, for which we are so uncourteously treated." After being in prison two months they forwarded a petition through their wives to Archbishop Parker, who sent his chaplain to visit and reason with them. This, however, led to nothing, and in October they were condemned by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to one year's imprisonment for a breach of the Act of Uniformity.

This was not to be the only reply to the Admonitions. Coercion might be necessary, but argument was even

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

more necessary. At the request of the Archbishop, and with his assistance, Whitgift undertook to frame the literary reply on behalf of the Church. It was by no means a pleasant task, and he knew full well what a storm he would draw down upon himself, for, as he wrote to Norton on October 25, 1572, "I am so far from seeking advancement that I look to be hated, to be reviled, to be slandered, to be most miserably defaced for the same, of the most part. But I am at a point; and if I should lose my life for it I would, and will, discharge my conscience and duty."¹ The first part of his answer was completed by the middle of September, and the second was all drafted by the beginning of October, though the complete work was not issued until February, 1573. It bore the title *An Answer to a certen Libel intituled An Admonition to the Parliament*, and was dedicated "to his loving nurse, the Christian Church of England." Naturally this reply led to a paper war, for Cartwright responded in May, 1573, re-arranging his matter so as to make the debate centre round twenty-four main tractates. Whitgift replied to this with his *Defense of the Answer to the Admonition*. In this the Admonitions were taken up one by one, and under each of them he printed Cartwright's reply, and lastly his own defence. We are thus enabled to obtain a bird's-eye view of the whole range of the controversy. Cartwright returned to the attack in 1575 by a *Second Replie*, and in 1577 by *The Rest of the Second Replie*. No answer was vouchsafed to these by Whitgift, because he wished "that God would direct that man's heart, to use

(¹) Strype, Book I, Cap. VI.

his good gifts to the peace and quietness of the Church," and also because he considered that "there was sufficient written already to satisfy an indifferent reader."¹

The two Cambridge antagonists are thus once more at warfare. It is unnecessary to follow Whitgift as he deals in turn with every point raised by the Puritan. Cartwright had made much of the opinions of the foreign reformers on the English Church. Whitgift replies that it is all very well quoting the opinions of Beza, Bullinger and others on the condition of the Church of England, but as false reports of the Church had been forwarded to them their views are easily accounted for. Even if their opinions be based on accurate information, it does not matter, for our faith, says Whitgift, does not depend upon Beza or any other man. He perceives quite clearly that Puritanism is only the latest example of a tendency which has been apparent at intervals in the history of the Church. "I do firmly believe that only the books of the canonical scripture are of that absoluteness and perfection that nothing may be taken away from them, nothing added to them. I do not think the communion-book to be such but that it may admit alteration. I do not believe it to be so perfect, but that there may be both added to it and taken from it. But this I say, that it is a godly book, and nothing in it (that I know) against the Word of God; and those imperfections, or rather motes, that you say to be in it, not to be such that any godly man ought to stir up any contention in the Church for them, much less to make a schism, and

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. XXII.

least of all to divide himself from the Church. This is my opinion of that book which, unless by learning and good authority I justify, let me have the blame and shame of it. I will not enter into your hearts, to judge what you think of your inward parity . . . that very perfection of an outward platform of a Church, which you challenge unto yourselves, is one step to Novatianism, and well deserveth the name of Catharism.”¹ Especially does he oppose the basal idea of the Puritans that the Bible is the sole rule, not only for doctrine but also for organization, ceremonial, apparel and ecclesiastical polity generally. At the very beginning of his Defence he lays it down that “the external government hath both a substance and a matter, about which it is occupied, and also a form to attain the same, consisting in certain offices and functions, and in the names and titles of them. The substance and matter of government must indeed be taken out of the Word of God, and consisteth in these points, that the word be truly taught, the sacraments rightly administered, virtue furthered, vice repressed, and the Church kept in quietness and order. The offices in the Church, whereby this government is wrought, be not namely and particularly expressed in the Scriptures, but in some points left to the discretion and liberty of the Church, to be disposed according to the state of times, places and persons.”² In the preface to the Defence he is able to get down to the real root of the controversy. It is not a question whether many of the matters mentioned in the Puritan platform were used

¹ *Works*, I, pp. 173, 174 (Parker Society).

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 6.

in the Apostles' times, nor whether they may be used at the present time. The real trouble is that "when we of this Church, in these perilous days, do see that we have a great number of hollow hearts within this realm, that daily gape for alteration of religion, and many mighty and great enemies abroad, busily devising and working to bring the same to pass, and to overthrow the state both of religion and of the realm—whether, seeing we have a settled order in doctrine and government received and confirmed by law, it may stand with godly and christian wisdom, with disobedience to the prince and law, and with the unquietness of the Church and offence of many consciences, to attempt so great alteration as this platform must needs bring, and that for matters external only, and with such eagerness and bitterness, that they deface and discredit the whole state of this Church, with all the preachers and ecclesiastical governors of the same, as remaining in horrible corruptions and antichristian deformities, and thereby fill the mouths of the adversaries with greater matters of obloquy to deface the gospel than ever of themselves they had been able to devise."¹ The details of church government are matters which the Church has a right to settle for itself, and, in fact, it has done so. If these are not based on the actual words of Scripture, at all events they are highly consonant with it, and therefore ought not to be rejected. "It is true that nothing in ceremonies, order, discipline, or government in the Church is to be suffered, being against the Word of God; and therefore we reject all ceremonies wherein there is any opinion to salvation,

¹ *Works*, I, p. 5.

worshipping of God, or merit.”¹ So again, our Lord “left authority unto His Church to make laws and appoint orders and ceremonies, as shall from time to time be thought most expedient and profitable for the same; so that nothing be done contrary to His Word, or repugnant to the same. And this authority hath the Church used, even from the ‘Apostles’ time, as it is manifest, both by the Scriptures, and other ecclesiastical stories, and ancient fathers.”²

In view of his position that the Church has power to settle, not only matters of ceremonial, but matters of church government also, Whitgift is naturally weak on the subject of episcopacy. His general position is that he regards it as “a thing most convenient and necessary,” and an essential guarantee of law and order in the state. It goes back to apostolic days, for though “this name archbishop is not expressed in the Scripture, yet is the office and function, as it is evidently to be seen in the examples of Timothy and Titus, yea, and in the Apostles themselves, whose office of planting churches through the whole world is ceased; but their care for the good government of those churches which were planted, and their authority over those pastors whom they placed, doth and must remain in such places where there are churches.”³ Similarly he lays it down that episcopacy “is most ancient in the Church, it is confirmed by the best and noblest councils, it is allowed by the best-learned fathers, it hath the pattern from the practice of the

¹ *Works*, I, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 279.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 108.

Apostles (all which hath been showed before), it is most meet for this state and kingdom.”¹ Yet the government of the Church is not so laid down that it cannot possibly be altered. “The external government of the Church under a Christian magistrate must be according to the kind and form of government used in the commonwealth; else how can you make the prince supreme governor of all states and causes ecclesiastical? Will you so divide the government of the Church from the government of the commonwealth that, the one being a monarchy, the other must be a democracy or an aristocracy? This were to divide one realm into two, and to spoil the prince of the one half of her jurisdiction.”²

Such was Whitgift’s answer to the literary attacks of the Puritans. It was a complete defence of the Church’s position. It is his chief contribution to literature, and is preserved in the three volumes of his works in the Parker Society’s publications. Its form (definite answers to definite charges) does not add to its popularity, and a few years later the whole ground was to be gone over again by Richard Hooker.

¹ *Works*, II, pp. 262, 263.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 263

CHAPTER III

WORCESTER AND CANTERBURY

IN 1573 Whitgift was, for the second time, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, and it was evident that a man who had rendered such signal service to the Church as he had, by his defence against the First and Second Admonitions to Parliament, was marked out for preferment. Such preferment, however, did not come at the first time of asking. In March, 1575, Parker suggested him for the see of Norwich, then vacant through the death of John Parkhurst, but the post was filled by the translation of Freke from Rochester. At length, however, in 1577 he was appointed to the bishopric of Worcester, *vice* Nicholas Bullingham deceased, resigning the mastership of Trinity College. His popularity in the University is witnessed to by Dean Hook's statement that the cavalcade which accompanied him on the road to Worcester was the greatest known up to that time, and it was said that every horse in Cambridge and for miles round was requisitioned, to enable the graduates, undergraduates and townsmen to do him honour. A similar procession met him as he reached Worcester. He was consecrated by Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Aylmer of London, Horn of Winchester,

and Curteis of Chichester, being enthroned by proxy on May 5, 1577.

As a bishop he was zealous in the performance of his duties, his conduct being a complete answer to some of the accusations which the Puritans were making all too truly against the clergy. He, at least, could not honestly be called a "dumb dog," or "a dog that will not bark," for he preached regularly every Sunday, either in his cathedral church or in one of the parish churches of his diocese; his earliest biographer, Paule, adding that oftentimes he preached in some parish church early in the morning, getting back to the cathedral in time for the sermon, a custom which he continued at Canterbury. He also gives us an interesting description of his pulpit method. "He never preached but he first wrote his notes in Latin, and afterwards kept them during his life. For he would say, that whosoever took that pains before his preaching, the elder he waxed, the better he should discharge that duty; but if he trusted only to his memory, his preaching in time would become prattling."¹ Nor was he a recluse, for he cultivated the society of the local gentry, and employed his influence in settling disputes among them.

> The story of the manner in which he made peace between Sir John Russell and Sir Henry Berkeley, between whom there existed a feud of long standing, is worth quoting. Each of them arrived in Worcester, one day, at the head of an armed band of friends and followers. The bishop ordered the leaders to be arrested by his guard, and to be brought before him at his palace. There he discussed their points of dis-

¹ Paule, p. 88.

agreement for two hours, with the result that they left his house as friends. These powers of peace-making were used, too, for the Church, as well as in the making up of private quarrels, for during his tenure of the see of Worcester he was employed on ecclesiastical work in other dioceses. At Lichfield he was called in to deal with the incompetence of the clergy and the unpopularity of the bishop, Overton, a quarrelsome and avaricious man; while at Hereford his business was to settle a dispute among the members of the cathedral chapter and to frame new statutes.

Whitgift was already high in the Queen's favour as one whom she could trust to carry out her orders and enforce uniformity in the Church. The fact that he was, and remained, a bachelor, would but increase the queen's opinions of him, for her views on clerical celibacy are well known. Her high opinion of him is shown by her forgoing the payment of firstfruits on his appointment to the bishopric. In 1534, the payment of firstfruits and tenths to the Pope had been abolished by Act of Parliament, and an order made that for the future these monies were to be paid to the Crown instead, a condition of affairs which continued till 1704. Elizabeth was not the person lightly to forgo any possible pecuniary profit which might be gained out of the revenues of the Church. A similar sign of favour was her resignation of her right to appoint the canons of the cathedral. This was the outcome of a letter to Burghley:—"That he would be glad now to begin his suit to her Majesty for the gift of the prebends of his church of Worcester. And that since his coming to that bishopric, he had not one

living to bestow (which was almost two years), neither was he in hope ere long to have any; unless it would please her Majesty to be gracious unto him in this suit. That it could not be expressed how much good wise and learned preachers might do in these quarters; where, although there were many very backward, yet the most part were most desirous and willing to hear. So that if he had, he said, livings to bestow, he persuaded himself that he could do very much good, by placing such there as he was purposed, by the grace of God, to do. Wherefore for God's sake (as he earnestly concluded his letter) for the Church's sake, and for the commonwealth's sake, I beseech your Lordship to help forward my suit." ¹

It must not, however, be imagined that this royal favour was in any way due, or in any way led, to subserviency. Leicester, the Queen's favourite, was all too fond, like his royal mistress, of alienating Church property into his own hands, yet Whitgift was bold enough to rebuke the Queen, and to warn her that her future salvation depended on the security she gave to the property of the Church. Isaac Walton has preserved the homily which he addressed to Elizabeth on this subject. "I beseech your Majesty to hear me with patience, and to believe that your's and the Church's safety are dearer to me than my life, but my conscience dearer than both; and therefore give me leave to do my duty, and tell you, that *princes are deputed nursing fathers of the Church, and owe it a protection*; and therefore God forbid that you should be so much as passive in her ruins, when you may prevent it; or that

(¹) Strype, Book II, Cap. I.

I should behold it without horror and detestation ; or should forbear to tell your Majesty of the sin and danger of sacrilege. And though you and myself were born in an age of frailties, when the primitive piety and care of the Church's lands and immunities are much decayed ; yet, madam, let me beg that you would first consider that there are such sins as profaneness and sacrilege ; and that, if there were not, they could not have names in Holy Writ, and particularly in the New Testament. And I beseech you to consider, that though our Saviour said, ' He judged no man,' and to testify it, would not judge nor divide the inheritance betwixt the two brethren, nor would judge the woman taken in adultery ; yet in this point of the Church's rights He was so zealous, that He made Himself both the accuser and the judge, and the executioner too, to punish these sins ; witnessed, in that He Himself made the whip to drive the profaners out of the temple, overthrew the tables of the moneychangers, and drove them out of it. And I beseech you to consider, that it was St. Paul that said to those Christians of his time that were offended with idolatry, yet committed sacrilege, ' Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege ? ' supposing (I think) sacrilege the greater sin. This may occasion your Majesty to consider that there is such a sin as sacrilege ; and to incline you to prevent the curse that will follow it. I beseech you also to consider, that Constantine the first Christian emperor, and Helena his mother, that King Edgar, and Edward the Confessor, and indeed many others of your predecessors, and many private Christians, have also given to God, and to His Church, much land, and many immu-

nities, which they might have given to those of their own families, and did not; but gave them for ever as *an absolute right and sacrifice to God*; and with these immunities and lands, *they have entailed a curse upon the alienators of them*; God prevent your Majesty from being liable to that curse, which will cleave unto Church lands, as the leprosy to the Jews.

xx { "And, to make you that are trusted with their preservation, the better to understand the danger of it, I beseech you forget not, that to prevent these curses, the Church's land and power have been also endeavoured to be preserved (as far as human reason, and the law of this nation, have been able to preserve them) by an immediate and most sacred obligation on the consciences of the princes of this realm. For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in His stead to him that anointed you, 'to maintain the Church-lands, and the rights belonging to it,' and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta: a curse like the leprosy, that was entailed on the Jews; for as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either

by your Majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.

“And therefore, good madam, let not the late lord’s exceptions against the failings of some few clergymen prevail with you to punish posterity for the errors of this present age; let particular men suffer for their particular errors, but let God and His Church have their inheritance: and though I pretend not to prophecy, yet I beg posterity to take notice of what is already become visible in many families; *that church-land, added to an ancient and just inheritance, hath proved like a moth fretting a garment, and secretly consumed both; or, like the eagle that stole a coal from the altar, and thereby set her nest on fire, which consumed both her young eagles and herself that stole it.*

“And though I shall forbear to speak reproachfully of your father; yet I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Church’s rights, added to the vast treasure left him by his father, hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve them. And consider that after the violation of those laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, God did so far deny him his restraining grace, that as King Saul, after he was forsaken of God, fell from one sin to another; so he, till at last he fell into greater sins than I am willing to mention. Madam, *religion is the foundation and cement of human societies*; and when they that serve at God’s altar shall be exposed to poverty, then religion itself will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe it to be in too many poor

vicarages in this nation. And therefore, as you are by a late act or acts of parliament entrusted with a great power to preserve or waste the Church's lands; yet dispose of them *for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to men, and vowed to God; that is, as the donors intended*: let neither falsehood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise; but put a stop to God's and the Levite's portion, I beseech you, and to the approaching ruins of His Church, as you expect comfort at the last great day; for *kings must be judged*. Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear sovereign, and let me beg to be still continued in your favour, and the Lord shall continue you in His."¹

Though Walton exaggerates when he speaks of the Queen's patient hearing of "this affectionate speech," and of her future care to preserve the Church's rights, which had, till then, been neglected,² yet we must recognize that Whitgift must have stood exceedingly high in her favour, for this was by no means the kind of language which would have been tolerated by her from the lips of any ordinary person. Nor was his care of Church property merely a matter of talk, for

¹ Walton's *Life of Hooker*, pp. 32-35.

² That there was no amendment on the part of the Queen is seen by the fact that in September 1584 no less than five sees were vacant, the Queen enjoying their revenues. Whitgift applied to Burghley for a cessation of the scandal, and though the latter promised his help no appointments were made. In fact Burghley made some strong comments on the bishops, arguing that men were well enough before their promotion, but became full of worldliness after they became bishops. Of course he was not reflecting on the primate himself, he said, for whom he had the highest respect, but "he wished that the spirit of gentleness might win rather than severity" (Strype, Book III, Cap. IX).

both at Worcester and at Canterbury he recovered property alienated from the Church. His predecessors at Worcester had granted long leases of several manors, parks and houses, especially those of Hollow and Grimley, to Abington. The bishop succeeded in obtaining surrender of the leases, paying Abington £300 out of his own pocket; while at Canterbury he recovered Long Beachwood, an estate of over a thousand acres, which was in the hands of Sir James Croft, who had farmed it from the Queen.

In 1583 Whitgift was translated to Canterbury. The circumstances were peculiar. Parker had died in 1575, and been succeeded by Grindal, Archbishop of York. The appointment was a peculiar one in view of Elizabeth's views regarding uniformity, but had been made through Cecil's influence, though Grindal was known to be weak. When he had been translated from London to York, Parker had written that "he liked well the removal of Grindal, for he reckoned him not resolute and severe enough for the government of London, since many of the ministers and people thereof, notwithstanding all his pains, still leaned to their former prejudices against all measures of reform."¹ As archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal had been a failure, falling foul of the Queen over the subject of the prophesyings. Nominally, these prophesyings were meetings of the clergy for prayer and study, but were being used by the Puritan clergy as a means for extending their propaganda. Beginning at Northampton, they soon spread to other parts of the country. At Northampton the meetings began at 9 a.m. on Saturday and

¹ Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, V. XX, 75.

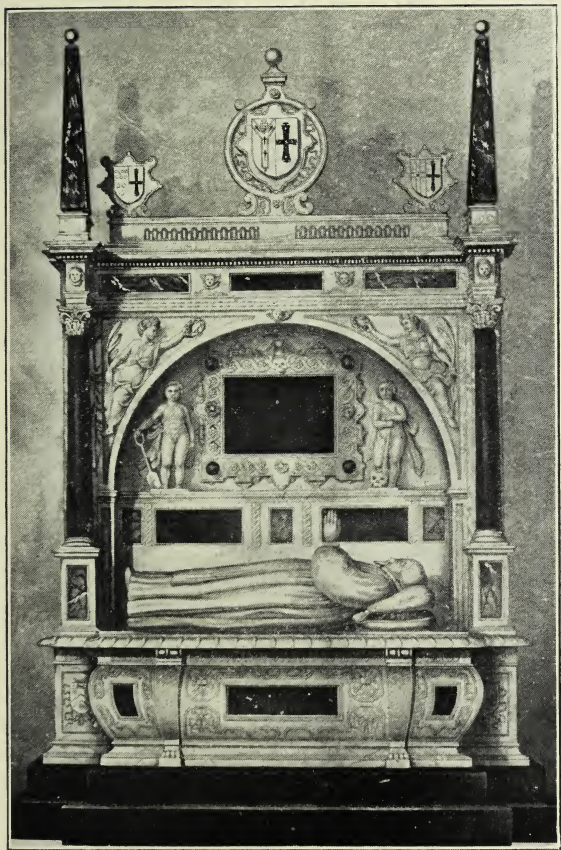
went on for some two hours; the opener being allowed three-quarters of an hour in which to expound the selected text, subsequent speakers being limited to fifteen minutes, while the discussion was summed up by a moderator. The president and learned brethren met afterwards to review the work which had been done, answering questions submitted to them, and correcting mistakes made by any of the speakers. If this had been all, far from there being anything to blame, there would have been much to praise in the prophesyings, as an effort to educate the clergy, and to develop their preaching powers and spiritual life. The sting comes in in the fact that they were being employed as a means of popularizing the Puritan platform, for the ministers who attended bound themselves by a confession of faith, and though the Apostles' Creed was adopted as a summary of the pure Word of God, the Pope was regarded as antichrist, while adherents were called upon to condemn all "manners and fashions to serve God which men have brought in without the authority of the Bible," among such matters rejected being free will, distinction of meats, clerical apparel, and, above all, the "order of papistry which they call the hierarchy." ¹

The Queen had called upon Parker to suppress these "vain prophesyings" in 1574, and the archbishop had issued orders accordingly to his suffragans. For a time the question was closed, but as soon as Grindal succeeded to the primacy it was reopened. Grindal, in his turn, was ordered to suppress them, but attempted regulation instead, by bringing them under

⁽¹⁾ See Serjeantson, *History of All Saints', Northampton*.

episcopal control, and by excluding from them both the laity and any of the deprived clergy. A protest sent by the archbishop to the Queen in December, 1576, only increased her determination to make an end of them. Grindal claimed that he was speaking, not only in his own name, but in that of ten other bishops, praised such meetings, refused to suppress them, and urged the Queen to refer all ecclesiastical matters to the bishops and divines, and to curb her own dealings with Church affairs. The Queen proceeded to act on her own responsibility, issuing her own orders direct to the bishops, and sequestering Grindal for six months; and though he was not formally deprived, he remained under a cloud, and was practically disgraced until his death on July 6, 1583.

Whitgift was exactly the man required by the Queen at this crisis. He had already acted as vice-president of the Marches of Wales, and there dealt both with Papists and Puritans, and he had already given full proof of his disciplinary powers and his zeal for uniformity. He was nominated on August 14, and enthroned on October 23. The enthronization took place in person, not by proxy as at Worcester, and unlike that of Cranmer, Parker and Grindal. Of one thing he could be quite confident as he entered upon his heavy labours—the support of the Queen, whose nickname for him was “her little black husband.” She called his servants her servants; while Walton says that “she saw so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours for the Church’s and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her



TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT IN CROYDON PARISH CHURCH.

confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies; and of which one was that she would never eat flesh in Lent without obtaining a license from her little black husband, and would often say she pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself by laying the burden of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders, which he managed with prudence and piety." ¹

As archbishop, Whitgift lived in great state, thanks to the fortune left him by his father. His comptroller and earliest biographer, Sir George Paule, tells how "he had a desire always to keep a great and bountiful house"; that "upon some chief festival days he was served with great solemnity upon the knee for the upholding of the state that belonged unto his place"; that "at his first journey into Kent he rode to Dover, being attended by at least a hundred of his own servants in livery, whereof there were forty gentlemen in chains of gold"; and that "he did sometimes ride into the city of Canterbury and into other towns with eight hundred or a thousand horse." This love of pomp had an interesting result on one occasion. When entering Canterbury, an intelligencer from Rome was so struck by seeing the archbishop and his servants; the dean, prebendaries and preachers in their surplices and scarlet hoods; the music, organs, cornets, etc., that he remarked "that they were led in great blindness at Rome by our own nation, who made the people there believe that there was not in England either archbishop, or bishop, or cathedral, or any church or ecclesiastical government; but that all was pulled down to the

¹ Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32.

ground, and that the people heard their ministers in woods and fields, amongst trees and brute beasts; but, for his own part, he protested that (unless it were in the Pope's chapel) he never saw a more solemn sight, or heard a more heavenly sound." Lest it should be imagined that this love of pomp was attached to the man himself and not rather to his office, it is well to notice the other side of the shield, his "charity and humility," as Walton calls it, which is nowhere better shown than in his treatment of the inmates of the hospital which he built and endowed at Croydon. "He built a large almshouse near to his own palace at Croydon in Surrey, and endowed it with maintenance for a master and twenty-eight poor men and women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters: and whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his palace in Lambeth (which was very often), he would usually the next day show the like lowliness to his poor brothers and sisters at Croydon, and dine with them at his hospital; at which time, you may believe, there was joy at the table." ¹

¹ Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARTICLES OF 1583

WHEN Whitgift succeeded to the primacy, the Puritans were faced with three things. In the first place there was the Act of Supremacy, under which the High Commission Court could be empowered "to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such heresies, errors, schisms, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended." Secondly there was the Act of Uniformity, by the terms of which "any manner of parson, vicar, or other whatsoever minister" who wilfully used "any other rite, ceremony, order, form or manner" of service other than that set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, or who should "preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation or depraving of the said book" or of any part of the book, was made liable to penalties which culminated in imprisonment for life. Thirdly there was the policy of Elizabeth, which, as we have seen when dealing with the prophesyings, was all for uniformity, so that whatever might be the wishes of individual bishops, their business, according to the queen, was to establish uniformity in their dioceses.

Whitgift at once proceeded to make it clear that he did not intend to be a mere figurehead, for he was not slow in proceeding against the Puritans. Within a month of the confirmation of his election he issued, after consultation with six of his suffragans, a set of Articles, which he forwarded to the Queen for her authorization. Great care was evidently taken in the drawing up of these Articles. "In the course of its formulation the scheme took several shapes, whose inner relation to one another it is a little difficult to decide; suffice it to state that, whether in the form of fifteen articles, as presented to the Queen by the Archbishop and the Bishop of Salisbury, or of the twelve recorded in Whitgift's register with nine episcopal signatures, or in the shorter form in which it underwent the criticisms of some of its adversaries, it was sure to excite violent opposition."¹ The issue of the Articles opened a new campaign, for they summarily forbade any preaching, reading, or catechizing in private houses, or the exercising of any ecclesiastical function until the Royal Supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Articles had been subscribed.² The most important of these Articles were as follows—

(2) "That all preaching, reading, catechizing and other such-like exercises in private places and families, whereunto others do resort, being not of the same family, be utterly inhibited, seeing the same was never permitted as lawful, under any Christian magistrate,

¹ Frere, *History of the English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.*, p. 224.

(²) The Articles are printed in full in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, No. lxxxiv.

but is a manifest sign of schism, and a cause of contention in the Church."

(3) "That none be permitted to preach, read, or catechize, in the church or elsewhere, unless he do, four times in the year at the least, say service, and minister the sacraments, according to the Book of Common Prayer."

(4) "That all preachers, and others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear and use such kind of apparel as is prescribed unto them by the book of Advertisements and her Majesty's Injunctions *anno primo*."

(5) "That none be permitted to preach, or interpret the Scriptures, unless he be a priest, or deacon at the least, admitted thereunto according to the laws of this realm."

(6) "That none be permitted to preach, read, catechize, minister the sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the ordinary of the diocese wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechizeth, or ministereth the sacraments, viz.—

"1. That her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be; and that no foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual within her Majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

"2. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that the same may lawfully be used, and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

"3. That he alloweth the book of Articles of religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1552, and set forth by her Majesty's authority, and that he believeth all the Articles therein contained to be agreeable to the word of God."

There is no doubt that these Articles were exceedingly stringent, leaving no room for the extension of the Puritan propaganda under cover of the Church's system. But they were absolutely necessary at the time, for as Strype says, "Very many preachers had now started up that would do nothing but preach, and neither read the Liturgy nor administer the sacraments. And some undertook to preach that were not ordained ministers at all, or had been ordained differently from the English book, nor had subscribed to the Three Articles, that is, the Queen's Supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Articles of Religion."¹ Moreover attention must be drawn to the fact that in the previous year the Puritans had proceeded from their literary attack upon the Church to an actual experiment in the setting up of the Presbyterian system. The

¹ Book II, Cap. II.

process began at Cockfield in Suffolk. While outwardly remaining clergymen of the English Church, they resolved to place themselves under the power of the "classes," as they were called, knowing that the two systems could not for long continue to exist side by side, and earnestly trusting that their system would gain the ultimate victory. The experiment soon spread over the Midlands, the Prayer Book being practically superseded, the Puritan clergy hiring persons to read the service, while they came into church to preach when the prayers were ended. In order to observe the real object of the plan, it is important to notice that care was ordered to be taken that no person should *offer* himself for ordination to the ministry. He ought to wait till the call reached him from some parish, and was then to convey the news to the "classis" or conference of which he was a member, and if that body approved, he should be commended to the bishop for ordination. It is clear that the call of the presbytery was considered far more important than the episcopal ordination, which was regarded merely as an unfortunate form which had to be tolerated for the present, until it could be abolished in favour of the ordination by the presbytery.

The Articles received the Queen's authorization, and were issued to the bishops, who were called upon to forward to the Archbishop a complete list of all ecclesiastical persons in their dioceses, with notice of their conformity or nonconformity, as the case might be and also to describe how the Articles were being put into execution in their dioceses. At once there was an outcry on the side of the disciplined Puritans, and

petitions poured in to the Council. In the hopes of creating a diversion the Council ordered Whitgift to proceed with a list of ten needed reforms, but the only answer vouchsafed by the Archbishop was to go on in his own way, sending out the order for the reforms at his own convenience. The trouble appears to have centred round the counties of Kent and Suffolk, the ministers of which forwarded a petition to the Council. The Council sent its clerk, Beale, himself a Puritan, to Lambeth, summoning the Archbishop to appear before them on the following Sunday. But they had to deal with a man who could not easily be coerced, and who was strong in the knowledge that the Queen was at his back. He replied that the Suffolk ministers had behaved irregularly in addressing their appeal to the Council instead of to himself. "It seemed strange to him that the ministers of Suffolk, finding themselves aggrieved with the doings of their diocesan, should leave the ordinary course of proceeding by law, which was to appeal to him, the Archbishop, and extraordinarily trouble their lordships in a matter not incident, as he thought, to that most honourable Board; seeing that it had pleased her Majesty her own self, in express words, to commit these causes ecclesiastical to him, as to one who was to make answer to God and to her Majesty, in that behalf, his office also and place requiring the same."¹ The ministers were making a schism and so encouraging the Papists. It was untrue that their doings were approved, as they maintained, by learned men, for most of the learned foreigners had condemned them. The petitioners from Kent were

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. III.

mostly young and unlearned, and such as he himself would not have admitted to the ministry, and it was audacity on their part to presume to report his dealings with them to the Council. "Neither were it possible for him to perform that duty which her Majesty looked for at his hands if he might not without interruption proceed." ¹ That Whitgift was correct in his description of the Kentish petitioners is shown by Strype, who reports them as praying "that God would strike through the sides of all such as go about to take away from the ministers of the Gospel the liberty which is granted them by the word of God." ²

The Archbishop was perfectly open to reason. What he objected to was this civil interference in a matter which ought to be settled by the officers of the Church. He argued for two days with the Kentish objectors, with no result, and was compelled in the end to suspend them. When some Sussex ministers appealed from their bishop to him, he was ready to meet them. He explained some of their difficulties, and finally allowed them to subscribe with the salvo that they did it in no other sense than such as was not against the word of God. He wrote through his Vicar General, Dr. Aubrey, that "these are to require you to release your suspension, and to permit and suffer them, and every of them, to execute their places freely, as they did before they were suspended, as well in preaching and saying of divine service, as in all other things. And where other ministers remain suspended by you for other like causes, his Grace's good pleasure is, that they shall be also released, subscribing according to the

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. III.

² *Ibid.*

meaning expressed in the said schedule, as those have done.”¹ Early in 1584, the laity took up the cudgels on behalf of the objectors to the Articles, a score of Kentish gentry sending a written protest, and then interviewing the archbishop. They asked for allowance to be given to godly men who only quarrelled for conscience’ sake with some parts of the Book of Common Prayer.

Far from withdrawing the Articles, Whitgift soon proceeded to further discipline. The change of primates necessitated a new ecclesiastical commission, and an attempt was made to prevent its renewal. Whitgift forwarded to Burghley eleven arguments to show its necessity, and it was issued accordingly in December 1583. Increased power was given to the Court of High Commission, which was, for the future, to consist of forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were to be bishops, while the work of discovering and punishing heretics and schismatics was to be in their hands. The following year the Archbishop followed this up by preparing a series of interrogatories, twenty-four in number, which were to be put by the Court to any clergyman whom it thought well to question. The suspected person was compelled to answer upon oath (*ex officio*), whether he was in the habit of breaking the law, *i. e.* he was compelled to give evidence against himself. Burghley penned a strong protest to the Archbishop regarding these questions. They were, he said, “so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the Inquisition of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. III.

preys. I know your canonists can defend these with all their perticals,¹ but surely under your Grace's correction this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify or reform. And in charity, I think, they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in Papistry or heresy. Now, my good Lord, bear with my scribbling. I write with a testimony of a good conscience. I desire concord and unity in the exercise of our religion. I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclude, that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition: and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any. That is not the charitable instruction that I thought was intended. If those poor ministers should in some few points have any scrupulous conceptions meet to be removed, this is not a charitable way to send them to answer to your common Register upon so many articles at one instant, without any commodity of instruction by your Register, whose office is only to receive their answers. By which the parties are first subject to condemnation, before they be taught their error."² Whitgift made a strong reply, pointing out that Burghley's facts were wrong; his epithets undeserved; that his protégés were not the innocent people he represented them to be; that the Articles were strictly in accordance both with law and precedent, for "it is the ordinary course in other courts likewise, as in the Star Chamber, the Court of the

¹ "By means of the measuring-rod or surveyor's staff" (Murray's *New English Dictionary*).

² Strype, Appendix, Book III, No. ix.

Marches, and other places"; that the Articles were addressed only to men already accused, and to them only after efforts had been made to satisfy their scruples by means of conference. Even if their issue should cause him to be dubbed "tyrant, pope, knave," he should not be deterred from his duty. Warm correspondence followed between the two, but Burghley saw that he would be compelled to support the Archbishop in his action. "The outcry, though loud, came but from a few; indeed, only fifty refused out of over eight hundred preachers in eleven dioceses for which a return was made." ¹

The scene now shifted to the House of Commons. On more than one occasion already had Parliament attempted to initiate legislation regarding Church affairs, apparently under the impression that Parliamentary control and royal supremacy were synonymous terms and things. Already, too, had the Queen made it clear that she would allow no interference by Parliament. As Bishop Creighton puts it, "she recognized in her bishops greater powers than they were prepared to use," and again, "nothing is more curious in Elizabeth's career than the steadfastness with which she refused to allow of Parliamentary interference in ecclesiastical matters. She was determined that the large system which had approved itself at the beginning of her reign should be allowed to shape itself into accordance with the needs of the nation, and that time should be given it for that purpose." ² Dr. Frere's opinion may be placed side by side with this. "Her view of the situation was logical, historical, and con-

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

² *Elizabeth*, pp. 258, 259.

stitutional. It was as intolerable that Parliament should interfere between her and Convocation, as that Convocation should interfere between her and Parliament. She stood in direct relation to one on the civil side and to the other on the ecclesiastical side; she assented to Acts of Parliament on the one hand and to Canons of Convocation on the other. To proceed otherwise was illogical and unconstitutional. Therefore throughout her reign she set herself to maintain this balance, and to crush all Parliamentary initiative in ecclesiastical matters, and all attempts at intrusion into the sphere reserved for dealings between the Crown and the Church.”¹

The Parliament which met in November 1584 addressed itself to the reform of the Church. Petitions were presented on behalf of the deprived preachers, while one member, Dr. Turner, “put the House in remembrance of the bill and book heretofore offered by him to the said House.” His bill and book were not read, but action was taken regarding the petitions which had been presented, a committee digesting them into sixteen articles which were forwarded to the Lords, under the title of “The humble petition of the Commons of the Lower House of Parliament, to be offered to the consideration of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of the Higher House.” The Upper House ignored them, as the petitions had come from three counties only, and reminded the committee of the rebuke which had been administered by the Queen when a previous attempt had been made to deal with ecclesiastical affairs. On the reassembling of

¹ *Puritan Manifestoes*, p. x.

Parliament in February 1585 new petitions were presented, and the Lords were consulted on the matter. "Burghley and the Archbishop came out of the House to meet the committee of the Commons, and gave them such an overpowering reply that both Sir Francis Knollys and Sir Walter Mildmay, who were in charge of the petitions, went away aghast, and protested, in reporting the result to the Lower House, that they could give no proper account of it till the committee had had time to confer and produce a report of it jointly." ¹

Convocation had been stirring itself, and had presented a scheme of reform to the Queen the day after the first petitions had been received by the Commons. Five of Whitgift's Articles of 1583 were repeated, with additions, while two new Articles were added to restrain abuses regarding excommunications and pluralities: When, then, the Archbishop had to reply to the sixteen grievances of the Commons, he could point to the fact that some of them had been met by the Articles, as well as by the action of the bishops. These new Articles provided—

1. That candidates for ordination must have titles in the diocese where they are ordained, must be of full age, graduates, or able to give an account of their faith in Latin, having proper testimonials. Bishops are to be protected against suits at law, and bishops not observing these rules are to be suspended for two years.

2. Penance is not to be commuted except in rare instances, and with the bishop's approbation. The

¹ Frere, *History of the English Church in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, pp. 231, 232.

fine is to be used for charitable purposes, and the offender is to testify his repentance in church.

3. Marriage licenses are not to be issued save under sufficient bonds that there is parental consent, and no legal impediment.

4. Excommunication for moral offences is to be pronounced by the bishop or some dignified clergyman, for contumacy by the official, some learned minister being present; while absolution is to be under the same rules.

5. Pluralities are only to be allowed to learned men and preachers. The holder of two benefices is to reside some part of the year in each, and his benefices must not be more than thirty miles apart. Suitable curates must be provided.

6. Only the fees customary at the beginning of the reign are to be charged, a table of fees being hung up in the consistory, and bishops are not to receive fees for ordination.

7. Bishops are to inquire yearly into the learning and morals of their clergy, by whom ordained, manner of life previously, value of their benefices, etc., and to report to the Archbishop.

Whitgift made it quite clear how far he was prepared to go. Abuses regarding ordination, dispensations, penance, excommunication and the like were dealt with, but he refused to consider for one moment any attempt to exempt clergymen from the necessity of conforming or subscription, or any attempt to introduce the Genevan system, such as the demand that six ministers should take part in every ordination to the priesthood, and in signing letters of orders, or that the

parishioners should have a right to object to the person nominated to the cure by the patron.

The Queen supported Convocation and snubbed the Commons, and after the bishops' Articles had been somewhat expanded they were formally passed as Canons, receiving the approval of the Crown.¹ The Commons continued to attempt to pass ecclesiastical legislation, two measures being actually sent up to the House of Lords. Whitgift sent a protest to the Queen. "May it please your Majesty to be advertised, that notwithstanding the charge lately given by your Highness to the Lower House of Parliament, for dealing in causes of the Church; albeit also, according to your Majesty's good liking, we have set down order for the admitting of meet men in the ministry hereafter; yet have they passed a bill in that House yesterday touching that matter. Which, besides other inconveniences (as, namely, the trial of the ministers' sufficiency by twelve laymen, and such like), hath this also, that if it pass by Parliament, it cannot hereafter but in Parliament be altered, what necessity soever shall urge thereunto; which I am persuaded in short time will appear, considering the multitude of livings not fit for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness thereof. Whereas if it is but as a canon from us by your Majesty's authority, it may be observed or altered at your pleasure. They have also passed a bill, giving liberty to marry at all times of the year without restraint, contrary to the old canons continually observed among us; and containing matter which tendeth to the slander of this Church, as having hitherto

¹ See Cardwell's *Synodalia*, I, 139.

maintained an error. There is likewise now in hand, in the same House, a bill concerning ecclesiastical courts, and visitation by bishops; which may reach to the overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and study of the civil laws. The pretence of the bill is against excessive fees and exactions in ecclesiastical courts, which fees are none other than have been of long time accustomed to be taken; the law already established providing a sharp and severe punishment for such as shall exact the same. Besides an order also which we at this time have taken among ourselves, for the better performance thereof."

The Queen stood by Whitgift, and at the prorogation of Parliament read the members a severe lecture. There were some fault-finders, she said, with the clergy whose overlooker she was. Her negligence thereof could not be excused, if schisms and errors heretical were suffered. Some faults and negligences might grow, and what vocation was there without such? At the same time she rebuked the bishops, for if they did not amend, she was minded to depose them. She bade them look well to their charges henceforth. All might be amended without needless and open exclamation. She would not animate Romanism, but neither would she tolerate newfangledness, for she meant to guide both by God's true rule.

CHAPTER V

THE CONTROVERSY WITH TRAVERS

WE have seen Whitgift as the selected champion of the Church answering the First and Second Admonitions to Parliament. Now that he was primate it was impossible for him any longer to take the lead in literary defence, though that defence was needed more than ever, on account of the manner in which the press was being employed for the furtherance of the Puritan propaganda. The Cambridge University Press had been re-established in 1584, and one of its earliest issues was a revised English version of the *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica* from the pen of Walter Travers.

Travers, the right-hand man of Cartwright, had been ordained at Antwerp by Villiers, Cartwright and others, the heads of a congregation in that place. When the Mastership of the Temple became vacant through the death of Dr. Alvey, Whitgift's nominee for the post was Dr. Bond, one of the Queen's chaplains, the other candidate being Travers, who already held the Readership of the Temple. The primate was perfectly clear that the latter was not the right man for the post, and he wrote to the Queen in August 1584 from Croydon, pressing the claims of Bond as against Travers. "It may please your Majesty to be advertised that the Mastership of the Temple is vacant by the death of

Mr. Alvey. The living is not great, yet doth it require a learned, discreet, and wise man, in respect of the company there; who being well directed and taught may do much good elsewhere in the commonwealth, as otherwise also they may do much harm. And because I hear there is a suit made unto your Highness for one Mr. Travers, I thought it my duty to signify unto your Majesty that the said Travers hath been and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in this Church, a contemner of the book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered¹ beyond the seas; not according to the form in this Church of England used. Whose placing in that room, especially by your Majesty, would greatly animate the rest of that faction, and do very much harm in sundry respects.”²

Whitgift followed this up by a letter to Burghley, dated September 14, 1584, in which he asked him “to help such an one to the Mastership of the Temple, as is known to be conformable to the laws and orders established; and a defender not a depraver of the present State and Government. He that now readeth there is nothing less, as I of mine own knowledge can testify.”³ A letter of Burghley’s to the Archbishop, dated September 15, 1584, shows that the Lord Treasurer had a regard for Travers, as also that his application for the post was being backed up by some of the Benchers, while it was also in accordance with

¹ *i. e.* ordained.

² Walton’s *Life of Hooker*, pp. 21, 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

the dying wishes of Alvey, the previous Master. Burghley, in this letter, requested Whitgift to write to the Queen, giving his opinion, while he added, "surely it were great pity that any impediment should be occasion to the contrary; for he is well-learned, very honest, and well-allowed and loved of the generality of that house." ¹

The Archbishop's answer shows that he was moved, not by any personal animosity to the man, but by his opinions. "Mr. Travers, whom your lordship names in your letter, is to no man better known, I think, than to myself. I did elect him fellow of Trinity College, being before rejected by Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach; whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our government, in whom I found less submission and humility than in him. Nevertheless if time and years have now altered that disposition (which I cannot believe, seeing yet no token thereof, but rather the contrary), I will be as ready to do him good as any friend he hath, otherwise I cannot in duty but do my endeavour to keep him from that place, where he may do so much harm, and do little or no good at all. For howsoever some commend him to your lordship and others, yet I think that the greater and better number of both the Temples have not so good an opinion of him. Sure I am that diverse grave, and

¹ Walton's *Life of Hooker*, p. 23

of the best affected of them, have showed their misliking of him to me; not only out of respect of his disorderliness in the manner of the communion, and contempt of the prayers, but also of his negligence in reading. Whose lectures, by their report, are so barren of matter, that his hearers take no commodity thereby. The book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, by common opinion, hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof. The drift of which book is wholly against the State and Government. Wherein also, among other things, he condemneth the taking and paying of firstfruits, tenths, etc. And therefore, unless he will testify his conformity by subscription, as all others do, which now enter into ecclesiastical livings, and make proof unto me that he is a minister ordered according to the laws of this Church of England, as I verily believe he is not, because he forsook his place in the college upon that account, I can by no means yield my consent to the placing him there, or elsewhere, in any function of this Church." ¹

Considering the high opinion which the Queen held of Whitgift, and her own views of the necessity of conformity, it was but natural that eventually Travers was passed over. Dr. Bond also was rejected, the appointment being conferred upon Richard Hooker, Travers, however, being allowed to retain the Readership.

This was by no means the end of the conflict. Rather was it now only beginning. Hooker, as Master, preached in the mornings; Travers, as Reader, in the afternoons. The latter naturally considered it his

bounden duty to correct what he regarded as the erroneous doctrines which the Master preached each Sunday morning, with the result that "the pulpit spake pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon." Such a pulpit warfare would obviously appeal strongly to the lawyers, and they followed the controversy with deep interest. Sunday by Sunday they took notes, and "were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers." This condition of affairs lasted for about a year, and then was brought to a sudden end. When, says Fuller, "the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests set, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast," Travers was served with a notice from Whitgift ordering him not to preach any more. This inhibition was based on three grounds—(1) that he had not lawfully been called to the function of the ministry; (2) that he had preached without a license; and (3) that he had violated an order in the Advertisements of 1566, that if erroneous doctrine were publicly taught, it should not be publicly refuted, but that notice of it should be given to the Ordinary to hear and determine such causes, so as to prevent public disturbance.¹ It was

¹ "Item, if any preacher or parson, vicar or curate, so licensed, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissension, or to the derogation of the religion and doctrine received, that the hearers denounce the same to the ordinary, or the next bishop of the same place; but no man openly to contrary or to impugn the same speech so disorderly uttered, whereby may grow offence and disquiet of the people; but shall be convinced and reproved by the ordinary after such agreeable order, as shall be seen to him according to the gravity of the offence. And that it be presented within one month after the words spoken."

not difficult for Travers to furnish a complete reply to the second of these charges. His answer was short and decisive—"my allowance was from the Bishop of London, testified by his two several letters to the Inner Temple." The third charge was one quite characteristic of Whitgift the disciplinarian, the one which it was indeed hard for Travers successfully to defend.

It is the first charge, however, which is by far the most important, not only on account of its bearings on this particular case, but because of its bearing on two general questions—Whitgift's view of the necessity of episcopal ordination, and the question whether persons not so ordained were permitted to officiate in English churches during Elizabeth's reign.¹

The line taken by Whitgift, as spokesman of the Church, when answering the Admonitions to Parliament, has already been noticed. Certainly it was by no means the highest possible, for episcopacy was there regarded as a guarantee of good order. The two questions must be kept perfectly distinct, for the Archbishop was quite definite on the one, but by no means so on the other.

While he regarded episcopacy and episcopal ordination as only of the *bene esse*, not of the *esse* of the English Church, he was determined that no one who had not been episcopally ordained should be allowed to minister. In his Visitation Articles of 1584 he

¹ This question has been discussed in detail by Denny in *The English Church and the Ministry of the Reformed Churches*, though the Bishop of Salisbury (*Unity and Fellowship*, p. 50) says, "the matter has been largely discussed, but too much with the intention of proving a foregone conclusion one way or the other. It may well be discussed again as a matter simply of historical fact."

made the following inquiry—"That you are a Deacon or a Minister and Priest admitted, declare by whom and what time you were ordered, and likewise by the law of the land provided"; while similar Articles of 1589 ask—"Whether any person, being not Deacon at the least, is suffered to say service in your Church, to minister the sacraments, or bury the dead."¹ Similarly in 1584 Whitgift had issued certain Articles to be inquired of in his diocese, the fifth of which stated that any one not "a Priest, or a Deacon at least admitted thereunto by the laws of this realm," was prohibited from even preaching.² It was useless for Travers to

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. XXIII.

² "This Article was consequently the subject of bitter complaint on the part of those who had embraced the opinions of the Foreign Reformers as to the Ministry. For example, one writer said: 'If this Article should take place and none be permitted to interpret the Scriptures unless he be a Priest or Deacon at the least, admitted thereunto by the laws of this Realm, then must the Archbishop of necessitie suffer no preaching of the Gospel by any strangers in the land. . . . The French Churches, the Dutchen Churches, the Italian Churches, and if there be any other Churches, they must be all scattered, their Pastours are neither priestes nor Deacons by our laws, neyther ever shall be. It is well known that one not made Priest or a Deacon according to the lawes of this Realme, not known from whence he came nor whither he will, and notoriously defamed to be a pattern of damnable heresies hath not only been permitted to interprete but admitted also to receyve large and ample stipends for his labour. Popish and idolatrous priestes may still be permitted to shuffle up their services and be tolerated in the Lordes Sanctuarie though they were not made priestes or Deacons by the booke of King Edward the Sexte, but such as give the glorie of the holy and eternall priesthood unto our Lord Jesus Christ and desirous to do him service in the publicke Ministrie of his holy worde may not be permitted to interprete his

argue in his Supplication that "priests made according to the Church of Rome" could minister, and why not then "ministers of the Word like himself," for the Archbishop answered, "when the like Act is made for his ministry then he may allege it. But the laws of this realm require that such as are to be allowed as ministers in this Church of England should be ordered by a Bishop, and subscribe to the Articles before him."¹ Whitgift here takes up the position that episcopal ordination alone is recognized in the Church of England, though it matters not whether that ordination shall have been received from a Roman or an English bishop. Nor was it of any use for Travers to assert that "in this Church of England many Scottish men and others, made ministers abroad, have been so acknowledged and exercised their ministry accordingly," for the primate appealed to facts, and replied, "I know none such, and yet their case is far differing from his." Travers foolishly referred to the circumstance that Polycarp was allowed to minister in Rome at the request of Pope Victor, as a justification for his being allowed to minister in England. The comment of Whitgift is—"This is true; but Mr. Travers's case is far differing from it. For Polycarpus went not to Rome to be made minister, but being ordained minister, according to the order of the Church

holy Scriptures unless unlegally they take unto themselves the name and dignity of our Lorde and Saviour by a forged and unlawful title.'" (The Copie of a Letter written . . . unto a Londoner, touching an answer to the Archb. Articles, in *A Parte of a Register*, pp. 171, 172). See Denny, *op. cit.*, p. 29n.

¹ Strype, Book III, Appendix xxx.

wherein he lived, was suffered to execute his function at Rome. But Mr. Travers, misliking the order of his country, ran to be ordered elsewhere by such as had no authority to ordain him, to the contempt of the ministry of this Church and the manifest maintenance of schism. And as well may Mr. Cartwright and his adherents now make ministers at Warwick, to serve in this Church of England, as he and Villiers might have done at Antwerp.”¹

It is clear that Whitgift would allow no one to minister without episcopal ordination. But when we pass to the second question, and consider his views on the absolute necessity of episcopacy and episcopal ordination for the continued existence of the Church, we soon discover that he did not regard this as an essential matter. Nowhere are his views on this matter more clearly expressed than in the letter which he wrote to Beza in 1594. In the course of this he says: “We make no doubt but that the Episcopal degree (which we bear) is an institution apostolical and divine, and so always hath been held by a continual course of times from the Apostles to this very age of ours. For as to what you seem to hint out of Hierom² and Augustine as though custom only, and that latter, preferred Bishops to Presbyters, it is a wonder to me that you should wrest their sayings to that purpose, and that you should not see by other of their books what they as well as other Fathers thought of this. And why you bring in the mention of Ambrose I do not sufficiently apprehend. For neither what Ambrose saith of the first Presbyter succeeding the Bishop deceasing, nor what

¹ Strype, Book III, Appendix xxx.

² i. e. Jerome.

of the Elders that were wont before those times to be admitted unto the Council, can by any pretence look this way. You may remember, learned Sir (added the Archbishop, setting himself now to prove Episcopacy), the beginnings of that Episcopacy which you make to be only of human institution, is referred by the Fathers with one mouth to the Apostles as the authors thereof; and that the Bishops [were appointed] as successors of the Apostles, especially in certain points of their functions. And what Aaron was to his sons and to the Levites, this the Bishops were to the Priests and Deacons; and so esteemed by the Fathers to be by divine institution; to be thus simply and in all respects confounded with Pastors and Ministers, and will by all means have a Bishop and Presbyter to fall into the same rank, that you may make them equal, and that Hierom and Augustine give their votes for you, as you seem here to think; do you not seem hence clearly to cut the throat of that cause you fight for? For then it will follow necessarily that none who is not both Bishop and Pastor is ever to be held for a Presbyter divinely instituted; and that they therefore do amiss who depress the Presbyters, whom they think to be truly so, into another and that a lower degree, after Pastors, if they be altogether the same in the truth of the Lord's disposing; nor do aright whom you sometime call Presbyters (*i. e.* Elders), when they are not ordained Ministers of the word and sacraments; and bear to do that which is necessarily required in every Bishop and Pastor. For the consistory of the Presbyters, who do not handle the word and sacraments, who are temporary, who are not to be maintained on

the charges of the Church which they serve; yet arrogateth a right to itself of election, disposition, ordination, imposition of hands, sacred censure, and the making of canons. And we trust by the grace of God we shall prove to the whole world that no such thing was ever known, neither in the Scriptures, nor ever to any Church before this our age.”¹

Whitgift's position is quite definite. He is in agreement with the wording of the preface to the English Ordinal, that “it is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there hath been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests and Deacons.” He goes further than this, for he regards episcopacy as of divine institution just because it is of apostolic origin. At the same time he does not “unchurch” those religious bodies which do not possess episcopacy. Accordingly another letter of Whitgift must be placed side by side with that to Beza. The Visitation Articles of 1589 came into Puritan hands and were forwarded to Sir Francis Knollys, who wrote to the Treasurer fastening upon the point of the superiority of bishops.

This he was perfectly ready to grant, provided always that the bishops claimed this superiority only as from the grant of the Queen. Whitgift's answer to this was as follows—“The Bishops of this realm do not (so far as I ever yet heard), nor must not, claim to themselves any greater authority than is given them by the statute of the 25 of K. Henry VIII revived in the first year of her Majesty's reign, or by other statutes of this land. Neither is it reasonable that they should

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. X.

make other claims. For if it had pleased her Majesty, with the wisdom of the realm, to have used no Bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our Church. Or if it had liked them to have limited the authority of Bishops to shorter terms, they might not have said they had any wrong. But since it pleased her Majesty to use the ministry of Bishops, and to assign them this authority, it must be to me, that am a subject, as God's ordinance, and therefore to be obeyed according to St. Paul's rule." He goes on to recognize that while such functions as the administration of the word and sacraments are common to bishops and priests, there are functions which are peculiar to bishops, such as imposition of hands. Of this and excommunication he says that "it may be a question whether the superiority which Bishops have therein is God's immediate institution, or a matter rather so disposed of in their persons, as the rest of their jurisdiction is, or not. For my part, I take the case all one. For, in regard that they be taken from the common power of every Church; and assigned either to the Bishops alone, or to them with so few; it must be judged on human ordinance, and the superiority which they enjoy herein is in this consideration, as Lambertus Danaeus, a learned man, writeth, *humanus episcopatus*." Moreover, "if it had pleased her Majesty to have assigned the imposition of hands to the deans of every cathedral church, or some other number of ministers, which in no sort were Bishops, but as they be pastors, there had been no wrong done to their persons that I can conceive." ¹

We return to the case which raised this discussion

¹ Strype, Book III, Appendix xliii.

of Whitgift's views of the ministry. Travers' "Supplication to the Council" was in vain, and his inhibition continued. For a while he remained in the background, becoming Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1594, though he was soon back in England, where his last years were spent in silence and obscurity. But the suppression of Travers did not bring peace to the Temple. When Dr. Bond had been a candidate for the Mastership, Burghley had warned him that "if he came not to the place with some applause of the company, he shall be weary thereof." Hooker soon discovered the truth of these words, and was "weary of the noise and oppositions of it." Accordingly he resigned his post, sending his reasons in writing to Whitgift. "My particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and, to satisfy that, I have consulted the scripture, and other laws both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment ought to be so far complied with as to alter our frame of Church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to Him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and others' tender consciences shall require us; and, in the examination, I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a Treatise, in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity; in which design God and His holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which my conscience now does; that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy

all tender consciences, and I shall never be able to do this, but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing upon my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your Grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun." ¹

In such a way were the plans for Hooker's famous Ecclesiastical Polity laid. The required rest and leisure for the prosecution of his plans were granted him, for Whitgift presented him, in 1591, to the living of Boscombe near Salisbury (a living in the primate's gift for this turn, through the vacancy in the see of Salisbury caused by Piers' translation to York). Here he remained till 1595, when he moved to Bishopsbourne near Canterbury. The Archbishop's defence of the Church against the Puritans has passed into oblivion, while that of Hooker remains, not only as a masterpiece of English, but as the greatest piece of English theology. Whitgift's kindness to Hooker is fittingly recognized in the Dedication of the Fifth Book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, which is dedicated to the primate. "The long-continued and more than ordinary favour which hitherto your Grace hath been pleased to show towards me may justly claim at my hands some thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which consideration, as also for that I embrace willingly the ancient received course and conveniency of that discipline, which teacheth inferior degrees and orders in the Church of God to submit their writings to the same

¹ Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

authority, from which their allowable dealings whatsoever in such affairs may receive approbation, I nothing fear but that your accustomed clemency will take in good worth the offer of these my simple and mean labours, bestowed for the necessary justification of laws heretofore made questionable, because as I take it they were not perfectly understood."

CHAPTER VI

THE MARTIN MARPRELATE TRACTS

THE Puritans were by no means unaware of the great power of the press as a means of expressing their opinions and extending their influence. The First and the Second Admonitions to Parliament had appeared in 1570, and Whitgift had been, as we have seen, the chosen apologist for the Church. Travers had published his *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*. The press had already been closed to Papists, and it was hoped that similar strictness and supervision would do much to spoil the Puritan propaganda. The Ecclesiastical Commission had, at the bidding of the Privy Council, restricted the London presses, suppressed illicit presses, and issued orders regulating printing. This was in 1583. The following year additional orders on the same subject were issued by the Star Chamber. Further, and drastic, measures were taken in June 1586, by an order of the Privy Council in the Star Chamber. Presses were to be allowed only in London, and one at each of the Universities, each press was to be duly licensed and subject to inspection, while no book was to be printed without an official imprimatur, in accordance with the Royal Articles of 1559. All such orders were absolutely useless, the only result being the setting up of private presses. The check of

the name of the publisher being thus withdrawn, it was but natural that the writers felt free to remove all restraint, and the consequence was that the productions of the secret press were violent and scurrilous in the extreme.

Accordingly the issue of the Martin Marprelate Tracts commenced in 1588. If the Admonitions to Parliament were violent in their language, the Tracts were even more so. True it is that most men in the sixteenth century used exceedingly plain language in controversy, and made no attempt to disguise their opinions of their opponents, yet one could wish that the Puritans had seen their way to propagate their opinions with moderation and courtesy. Unfortunately Cartwright had led the way in the use of intemperate language, and smaller men were not slow to imitate, even to surpass him. It is only necessary to turn to the pages of Richard Hooker to see the way in which controversy could be conducted in a gentlemanly and Christian manner, and in his dedication to the fifth book of the Ecclesiastical Polity he speaks, all too truly, of "the scurrilous and more than satirical immodesty of Martinism"; while Neal says that "while there were any hopes of compromising matters between the Church and Puritans, the controversy was carried on with some decency, but when all hopes of accommodation were at an end the contending parties loaded each other with the heaviest reproaches."¹

The Puritans had greatly relied on the influence of the Parliament of 1584, and had issued the "Practice of Prelates," and in 1587 Dr. John Bridges, the dean

¹ I, p. 326.

of Salisbury, had written his defence. This was the moving cause of the libels, the first of which appeared in 1588 under the titles of the "Epistle" and the "Epitome." The writer of these has a fling at Whitgift, maintaining that he had been vanquished in argument by Cartwright, as he had not continued the controversy with him. This was answered by one of the tracts from the Church side, the "Almond for a Parret," which says, "First would I know of sweet M. sauce malapart, whether he would have the care of all the commonwealth, and foreseeing consultation of domestical and foreign affairs, resigned to the retorting of T. C.'s unreverent railings. Next, what such equal proportion his mastership finds in their places, that the gravity and mildness of the one should stoop his attention so low, as the jangling levity of the other. As there is nothing more unseemly than to answer the froward, so there is nothing more profitable than silence to such as are provoked."

The Puritans' case is nowhere more plainly stated than in the "Epitome," and the following passage carries us to the very heart of the controversy. "The state of the whole controversy between my brethren bishops and my brethren the Puritans, and so between this worthy doctor, and these discourses, is: whether the external government of the Church of Christ be a thing so prescribed by the Lord in the New Testament, as it is not lawful for any man to alter the same, any more than it was lawful to alter the form of regiment prescribed under the law in the Old Testament. And see whether if there be any government in the Church (as necessarily there must be, or else all confusion will

ensue) the same must be by those offices and officers alone, and by no other, which the Lord hath set down and limited in His Word. Or else whether man may alter these offices and officers at his will and pleasure, and make new offices and officers, as he may in the civil governments. The Puritans say, that these offices and officers, which our Saviour Christ and His Apostles did ordain, are unchangeable, and that it is not lawful for any prince to alter them, no not though the circumstances of times, places and persons should seem in regard to convenience, to enforce him thereunto. The doctor, with all the lordly priests in the land, hold the contrary, and swear it to be lawful for the magistrate to ordain what government he will in the Church; yea, that the Church governors, contrary to the flat commandment of our Saviour Christ, Luke xxii. 25-26, may be lords. And that the Church government prescribed by our Saviour Christ, and enjoined by the Apostles, was not immutable, as the regiment under the law was. In so much as in the opinion of M. Bridges and the rest of the clergy, Paul was deceived in saying that pastors and doctors were to continue in the Church until we all meet together, that is, unto the end of the world."

Nor can one fail to be struck with the tone of triumph and certainty which is exhibited by the Tracts. "Look to yourselves, I think you have not long to reign," is Martin's advice to the bishops. So confident of success were the Puritans that they even arranged in advance the manner in which the property of the Church should be disposed of. Among some papers seized by the Archbishop's officers in 1588 was an

account of some questions which had shortly before been matters of debate. Among these was the following: "How, when all the Church's revenues that then were should be converted, to maintain their presbyteries, her Majesty shall be recompensed for her first fruits and tenths, for that they would pay none, as being unlawful."¹ Maskell says of this triumphant tone that "it was not unnatural, therefore, that the Puritans should begin to rejoice that they were about to gain their end; and even Hooker seems to have thought as they did, that there was but little hope of escape for the English Church, and that her candlestick would be very soon removed. The Puritans wrote as if in triumph, he confessedly desponding; both could but look upon the struggle passing around them, as being themselves *actors* in it, only guessing at the probable event, and not as *we* are, at a long distance of time after all is over, able to discern, if I may venture to say so, the plain interposition at the proper hour, of the Almighty Hand."² That there is no exaggeration here is plain from a consideration of the opening words of Hooker's preface to the Ecclesiastical Polity. "Though for no other cause, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same."

All through the Tracts the persons aimed at are the

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. XXI.

² *The Marprelate Tracts*, p. 52.

bishops, and especially Whitgift. The whole object is to heap up scorn and ridicule on the episcopate, with a view to rousing such a hatred of the bishops that the way will be prepared for the abolition of episcopacy and the erection in its place of the presbyterian system. Whitgift is told to "remember his brother Haman"; the "Address to Parliament" of 1589 is described on its title page as an exposure of "the bad and injurious dealing of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other his colleagues of the High Commission." In the "Dialogue of Tyrannical Dealing" he is called more ambitious than Wolsey, prouder than Gardiner, and more tyrannical than Bonner. The "Just Censure and Reproof" contains a satire on his pomp, and the question is asked, "Is seven score horse nothing, thinkest thou, to be in the train of an English priest?" The bishops are spoken of as "swinish rabble, petty popes, who had sinned against the Holy Ghost," and the conforming clergy are described as "worshipful paltrypolitans, right poisoned persecuting priests, cogging knaves, limbs of Antichrist, ungodly wretches." As a specimen of the kind of language used we may take the following *résumé* from Heylin. "They could find no other title for the Archbishop than Beelzebub of Canterbury, Pope of Lambeth, the Canterbury Caiaphas, Esau, a monstrous Antichrist, a most bloody opposer of God's saints, a very antichristian beast, most bloody tyrant. The bishops are described as unlawful, unnatural, false and bastardly governors of the Church, the ordinaries of the devil, petty popes, petty antichrists, incarnate devils, bishops of the devil, cogging cozening knaves, who will lie like dogs. They

are proud, popish, profane, presumptuous, paltry, pestilent, pernicious prelates and usurpers, enemies of God and the State. The clergy are popish priests, or monks, or friars, ale haunters, or boys or lads, or drunkards, and dolts, hogs, wolves, foxes, simoniacs, usurpers, proctors of antichrist, popish chapmen, halting neutrals, greedy dogs to fill their paunches, desperate and forlone atheists, a cursing, uncircumcised, murdering generation, a crew of bloody soul-murderers, sacrilegious church robbers, and followers of antichrist." The Convocation is thus addressed: "Right puissant, poisoned, persecuting and terrible priests, clergy, masters of the Confocation House, the holy league of subscription, the crew of monstrous and ungodly wretches that mingle heaven and earth together, horned monsters of the Conspiracy House, an antichristian and swinish rabble, enemies of the Gospel, most covetous, wretched, popish priests, the Confocation House of devils, and of Beelzebub of Canterbury, the chief of the devils." The Prayer Book is "a book full of corruption, many of the contents against the Word of God, the sacraments wickedly mangled and profaned therein, the Lord's Supper not eaten, but made a pageant and a stage-play, the form of public baptism full of childish and superstitious toys."¹

The name of "Martin Marprelate" does not represent any one individual, but is the *nom de guerre* adopted by a band of controversialists. The chief of these are generally supposed to have been Penry and Udal, both of whom were ministers, and Throgmorton and Fenner. In addition to the "Epistle to the Confo-

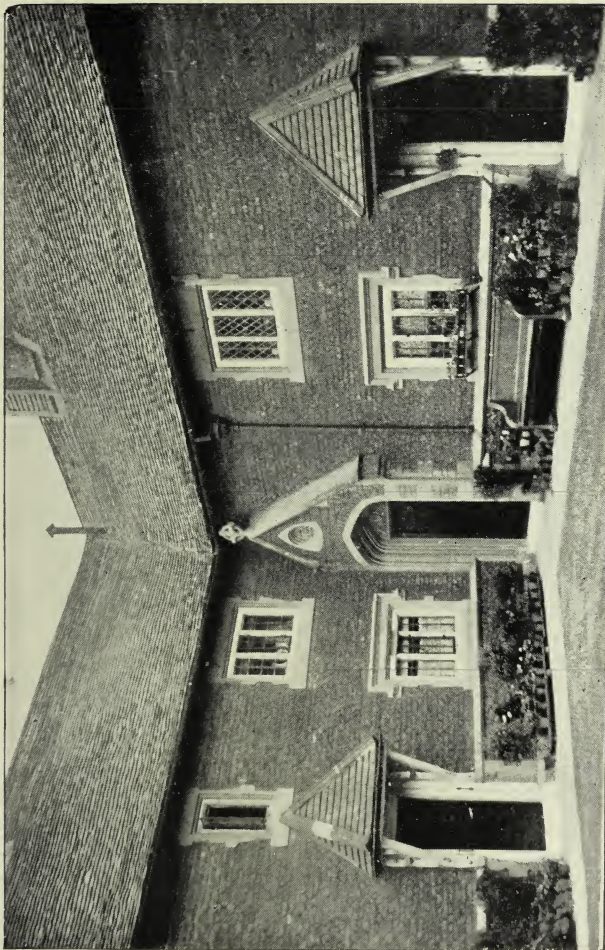
¹ *Presbyterians*, p. 281.

cation House " and the "Epitome " already referred to, the chief pamphlets were: "Ha ye any work for a Cooper?", the title being taken from a popular London street cry, "The Appellation," "A Dialogue setting forth the tyrannical dealings of the bishops against God's children," "Some laid open," "The Protestation of Martin," "Martin Senior," "Theses Martinianæ" or Martin Junior, "More work for a Cooper," "Diotrephes," and "Martin's Mineral."¹

We have noticed the triumphant tone adopted by the writers, and one cannot but notice the despondency of the writers who replied to the attacks. This becomes plain in the opening words of Bishop Cooper's "Admonition," in which he remarks, "Who seeth not in these days, that he who can most bitterly inveigh against bishops and preachers, that can most boldly blaze their discredits, that can most uncharitably slander their lives and doings, thinketh of himself, and is esteemed of other, as the most zealous and earnest furtherer of the Gospel."

Two things come out plainly from the controversy. The guns were not in the least masked. The real enemy is episcopacy, and Presbyterianism is to be set up in its place, not because it is a better system than its rival, but because it is *jure divino*. The second important thing was, that the Church party were led to reconsider their foundation, and to realize more clearly than before why they upheld the episcopal system. Thus good came out of evil, for the Tracts led the way

¹ For a complete list of the Tracts see Pierce, *An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts*, Appendix B. *A Select Bibliography of the Marprelate Controversy*.



TRINITY HOSPITAL, CROYDON.

to a truer idea and clearer setting forth of episcopacy, as can be seen from the writings of such men as Bancroft, Andrewes and Overall.

Whitgift evidently keenly felt and smarted under these attacks, for when the Privy Council issued an order to the Archbishop through the Ecclesiastical Commission, that the authors and their accomplices were to be sought out and put in prison, he personally directed the search for the secret press from which they had been issued. Penry was tried and executed in 1593. Though the writer of Whitgift's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that "in his examination of prisoners he showed a brutal insolence which is alien to all modern conceptions of justice or religion," his treatment of Udal must be spoken of as decidedly generous. Udal denied any direct connection with the Tracts, but was unable to explain away his connection with the press which had issued them, nor his authorship of "Diotrephes" and the "Demonstration of Discipline," both of which had been issued by the press which published the Tracts. As he was a minister at Kingston-on-Thames, he was indicted at the Croydon assizes in July 1590, for sedition, since, "not having the fear of God before his eyes [he] did maliciously publish a slanderous and infamous libel against the Queen's Majesty, her Crown and Dignity." The indictment quoted an objectionable passage from the "Demonstration of Discipline," and referred to the burning of his other book, "Diotrephes." Udal's style of controversy is sufficiently shown by the opening page of that work, for he there asks the bishops, "Will you still continue in your damnable and most devilish

course? Have you sold yourselves unto Satan, to fight for him until you be dumped in Hell with him? Have you mortgaged the salvation of your souls and bodies, for the present fruition of your pomp and pleasure?", while he adds, "I am persuaded that you are in league with hell, and have made a covenant with death." He was found guilty, and condemned to be executed for felony, but the carrying out of the sentence was deferred. Sir Walter Raleigh, the Earl of Essex, and Dean Nowell interceded on his behalf, while the Governor of the Turkey Company offered to send him to Syria as pastor to the agents of the Company there. It was through Whitgift's influence that the death sentence was not carried out, and eventually a pardon was signed, but Udal died in Southwark gaol before the necessary formalities for his release could be completed.

Nor can it fairly be said that Whitgift was over severe with his old antagonist, Cartwright. He refused, indeed, in 1585, to grant him a licence to preach, but the Archbishop's correspondence with Burghley shows the reason for the refusal. Leicester wrote on July 14, 1585, as follows: "I most heartily thank you for your favourable and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath so exceedingly kindly taken it also, as, I assure your Grace, he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it shall do a great deal of good. And he protesteth and professeth to me, to take no other course but the drawing of all men to the unity of the Church; and that your Grace hath so dealt with him as no man shall so command him, and dispose of him, as you shall: and doth mean to let this opinion publicly be known, even in the pulpit (if your Grace so

permit him), whatever he himself will, and would all others should do, for obedience to the laws established. And if any little scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed by your Grace; whom I do most heartily entreat to continue your favour and countenance towards him, with such access sometimes as your leisure may permit. For I perceive he doth much desire and crave it. . . .” The Archbishop replied on the 17th: “Mr. Cartwright shall be welcome to me at all times, and using himself quietly, as becomes him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing to do him any good: but to grant unto him, as yet, my licence to preach, without longer trial, I cannot; especially seeing he protesteth himself to be of the same mind he was at the writing of his book, for the matter thereof, though not for the manner; myself also, I thank God, not altered in any point by me set down to the contrary; and knowing many things [in his book] to be very dangerous. Wherefore, notwithstanding I am content and ready to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth peaceably, yet doth my conscience and duty forbid me to give unto him any further public approbation, until I be better persuaded of his conformity. And so being bold to use my accustomed plainness with your good lordship, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.”¹

Whitgift, however, was not yet finished with Cartwright. The leadership passed out of his hands, and he kept more or less out of controversy, though summoned by his Bishop for preaching at Warwick without a licence, and for continuing to preach after suspension. In the autumn of 1590 he was summoned

¹ Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commission, and after his refusal to answer upon the *ex officio* oath, was committed to the Fleet prison. He, and the other opponents of the oath, demanded that the question of its legality should be referred to the judges. This was done, and in February 1591, they recommended prosecution in the Star Chamber and subsequent banishment as the most suitable punishment for disobedience. Cartwright and others were accordingly brought before the Star Chamber in May. They were accused of holding unlawful and seditious assemblies, with subscription to the Book of Discipline, with the use of a new form of common prayer, with slandering the Prayer Book and the bishops, with refusing to take the *ex officio* oath, and with agitating to secure their release from prison. After refusing to answer the bill produced against them, they were referred back to the Ecclesiastical Commission to take the oath and stand the inquiry. Cartwright and others held out, and although James, the King of Scotland, sent a petition in their favour, they remained in prison. Early in the next year their confinement was somewhat relaxed, and "eventually they owed their enlargement to the archbishop, who throughout had stood aside as far as possible from the proceedings in the commission, for fear that he might be thought, at any rate in Cartwright's case, to be a partial judge, and who seems to have retained all through a generous appreciation of the great learning and high character of his old antagonist, and to have rejoiced in an opportunity of merciful intervention."¹

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAMBETH ARTICLES

WE have already seen that Calvinism was the dominating influence at Cambridge in Whitgift's early years, and that he had come under that influence and accepted the Calvinistic system of theology, though (save for a short time) the Calvinistic system of discipline and Church organization possessed no attraction for him. This acceptance of the Calvinistic theology was not, like his views on the use of the surplice, a mere passing phase of opinion, for it remained with him to the end. Nor is this to be wondered at, for it is impossible to exaggerate the greatness of Calvin's influence all through the reign of Elizabeth. Those who possessed the originality, ability, and self-confidence to break away from it were few and far between. Yet, towards the end of the century, there was a distinct reaction against Calvinistic doctrine, and it was in connection with this movement that Whitgift caused the Lambeth Articles to be issued, a series of Articles which show quite plainly how fast he held to the doctrine of predestination as taught by those under Genevan influence.

The trouble arose at Cambridge through the action of William Barret, a Fellow of Caius College, who preached a sermon for his degree of B.D., in which he

denied Calvin's predestinarian doctrine. He was one of the new school of rising Cambridge theologians, and in his sermon denied the certainty of assurance and final perseverance, and asserted that sin alone is the cause of reprobation.¹ The University authorities complained to Whitgift, but had been anticipated by Barret. At first the Archbishop took his part, complaining of the hasty and rash proceedings which had been taken, that Barret had not been afforded any opportunities of conferring with others, nor time for consideration of the points preferred against him. He pointed out that "in some points of his retractation they had made him to affirm that which was contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned divines in the Church of England, and in other Churches likewise, men of best account; and that which, for his own part, he thought to be false and contrary to the Scriptures. For the Scriptures were plain that God by His absolute will did not hate and

¹ The points charged against him were as follows—

1. *Neminem in hoc fragili mundo tanta firmitate esse suffultum, saltem certitudine fidei, i. e. nisi per revelationem, ut de salute sua debeat esse securus.*

2. *Petri fidem deficere non potuisse, at aliorum posse. Nam pro fide singulorum non oravit Dominus.*

3. *Quoad finalem perseverantiam, superbam esse illam securitatem de futuro, eoque natura sua contingenti. Cujus generis est uniuscujusque hominis perseverantia: neque tantum superbam, sed impiissimam.*

4. *In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus.*

5. *Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec hujus, nec illius. Nec posse nec debere quenqua vere fidelem certo credere peccata sua esse sibi remissa.*

6. *Quod ad eos attinet, qui non servantur, peccatum esse veram, propriam, et primam causam reprobationis.*

reject any man, without an eye to his sin. There might be impiety in believing the one, there could be none in believing the other. Neither was it contrary to any article of religion, established by authority in this Church of England, but rather agreeable thereunto.”¹ The Archbishop soon learnt more of the case, and in the course of his reply to the Heads of Houses, who were upset at his action, and protested accordingly, said: “I am not so light of credit as to believe Mr. Barret in his own cause. And you do me wrong so to charge me. Your own proceedings and doings have drawn me into this dislike, wherein I am not as yet by your letters satisfied. Barret is a man scarce known to me. His manner of dealing, and giving occasion to these questions, I do utterly condemn; and if I had had in time knowledge thereof, I would have joined with you in punishing of him to the uttermost in such sort as the quality of the offence requireth. As I will likewise in punishing of any other that shall continue these controversies, either on the one side or on the other: which I would have made known unto them, and do by all the authority I have, or credit with you, require: and pray you to take care, that hereafter the pulpit, nor any other public places, be used in these controversies, until such time as you shall receive some resolutions from hence in these causes: which had been ere this, if your hasty proceedings had not ministered occasion to the contrary.”² The matter, however, was of too grave a nature to be thus summarily settled. The new wine could not be contained

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XIV.

² *Ibid.*, Cap. XV.

in the old bottles. It was not enough for Whitgift to summon Barret to Lambeth and there direct him not to continue to preach and teach such topics. The controversy continued in spite of such prohibition, the leaders being Dr. Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity, on the one side, and Dr. Baro, a French refugee and Lady Margaret Professor, on the other. Eventually Whitaker was sent by his party to Lambeth, with the result that the famous Lambeth Articles were drawn up in the hope of reaching a settlement. The Bishops of London and Bangor, with the Dean of Ely, were called into consultation, while Hutton the Archbishop of York approved, though he did not attend. It was clearly intended that the Articles should be decisive on the points at issue. They were as follows ¹—

¹ 1. Deus, ab aeterno, predestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

2. Causa movens aut efficiens praedestinationis ad vitam, non est praevisio fidei, aut perseverantiae, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quae insit in personis praedestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

3. Praedestinatorum praefinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

4. Qui non sunt praedestinati ad salutem necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

5. Vera, viva, et justificans Fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.

6. Homo vere fidelis, *i. e.* fide justificante praeditus, certus est, plerophoria fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

7. Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur, universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit,

1. God from eternity hath predestinated some to life, some He hath reprobated to death.

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the prevision of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything which may be in the persons predestinated, but only the good will of the pleasure of God.

3. Of the predestinated there is a fore-limited and certain number which can neither be diminished nor increased.

4. They who are not predestinated to salvation will be necessarily condemned on account of their sins.

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God sanctifying, is not extinguished, does not fall away, does not vanish in the elect either totally or finally.

6. A truly faithful man, that is, one endowed with justifying faith, is certain by the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins and his eternal salvation through Christ.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all men, by which they might be saved if they would.

8. No man can come to Christ except it be given to him, and unless the Father draw him. And all men are not drawn to the Father that they may come unto the Son.

9. It is not placed in the will or power of every man to be saved.

et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.

9. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

There cannot be the least doubt that Whitgift and his coadjutors were here expressing Calvinistic views in the clearest possible manner. Yet it is important to notice that the final draft was much less extreme than the first suggestions, for considerable modifications were introduced while the Articles were being prepared and discussed.¹ In the second Article "*causa efficiens*" was altered to "*causa movens aut efficiens*," to make it clear that the moving cause of predestination is not to be found in the man himself, but in God's mercy through Christ; while the phrase "*sed sola, et absoluta, et simplex voluntas Dei*" became "*sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei*," since our salvation comes from God's good pleasure and goodness. Similarly in the fifth Article Whitaker proposed to say that "true, living and justifying faith and the influence of the Spirit of God, is not extinguished, nor fails, nor goes off, in those that have once been partakers of it, either totally or finally," but this language was modified by the insertion of the words "in the elect," thereby making the opinion expressed less Calvinistic and more Augustinian. In the sixth Article the words "from the certainty of faith" were amended to the "full assurance of faith."

The Articles were forwarded to the University with a letter in which Whitgift said "that his earnest and hearty desire was to have the peace of the Church generally observed in all places, especially in the University, whereof he was, as he said, a member. And that for the better observation and nourishing of the said peace, they had, with some care and diligence,

¹ See Sargeaunt in *Journal of Theological Studies*, January and April, 1911.

drawn out and set down certain propositions, which they were persuaded to be true. And the copy thereof he now sent unto them, in his letter enclosed, praying them to take care that nothing should be publicly taught to the contrary. And that also in teaching them, discretion and moderation should be used, that such as should be in some points differing in judgment, might not be of purpose stung, or justly grieved. And especially, that no bitterness, contention, or personal reproof or reproaches, should be used by any towards any. And that the propositions nevertheless must so be taken and used as their private judgments, thinking them to be true, and correspondent to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and established by the laws of the land, and not as laws and decrees.”¹

Whitgift soon discovered that he had increased rather than ended controversy by the issue of the Articles. For once he was to find that the Queen would not back up his efforts. She was with him when it was a question of insisting on conformity, but against him when it was a question of altering the doctrine of the Church. She ordered Cecil to write to him, that “she misliked much that any allowance had been given by his Grace and the rest, of any such points to be disputed, being a matter tender and dangerous to weak, ignorant minds. And therefore that she required his Grace to suspend them;”² while when Whitaker showed the Articles to the Lord Treasurer, he was told that “they were charging God with cruelty, and might make men to be desperate in their wickedness.”

Nor did the Articles meet with any better fate at

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XVII.

² *Ibid.*

Cambridge, where it was hoped that they would close pulpit controversy on doctrinal matters. Baro preached the Latin sermon on January 12, 1596, and maintained (1) that God created all men according to His own likeness in Adam, and so consequently to eternal life, from which He chased no man, unless because of sin; (2) that Christ died sufficiently for all; and (3) that the promises of God made to us, as they are generally propounded, so also are to be generally understood. Baro was summoned before Dr. Goad, the Vice-Chancellor, to answer a charge of heresy, while the case was also reported to Whitgift. After hearing Baro, the Archbishop wrote to the Vice-Chancellor that the objections which Baro had raised to the Articles were "frivolous and childish," but he must proceed cautiously. When the matter came to the ears of Burghley, the Chancellor, he wrote in severe terms, that Goad had acted wrongly in censuring the Margaret Professor, that the doctrine taught by the Articles was "dangerous and offensive," and that "as good and ancient are of another judgment." They might indeed punish Baro, but it would be "for well doing and for holding the truth," because "ye sift him with interrogatories as if he were a thief. This seems done of stomach among you, and your witnesses do not agree." ¹

It is not easy to understand Whitgift's action in this matter. Heylin's comment is worth quoting. "Possible it is that he might not look so far into them as to consider the ill consequences that might follow on them, or that he might prefer the pacifying of some present dissenters before the apprehension of such inconveniences as were more remote, or else, according

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XVII.

to the custom of all such as be in authority, he thought it necessary to preserve Whitaker in power and credit against all such as did oppose him.”¹ At all events, Whitgift must have known the reception which the Articles would receive at the hands of the new Cambridge school of theology. Overall (who afterwards, as Dean of St. Paul’s, placed a true account of the Articles before James I at the Hampton Court Conference) had succeeded Whitaker, and “openly and freely confessed his consent” with Baro.² Above all, Lancelot Andrewes intervened in the matter. He was, at this time, the Archbishop’s chaplain, and Baro wrote to him on the matter. Accordingly, he took the opportunity of placing the true bearings of the disputed doctrines before the primate. His “judgment upon the Lambeth Articles” was followed up by the “Censure of the censure of Barret.” He agreed that predestination and reprobation are alike in the hands of God, but the one is *propter Christum*, while the other is *propter peccatum*. Saving grace is not conferred on all, but it is certainly offered to all. Yet dispositions are conferred on all, enabling them to accept the free gift of God, and if men were not themselves wanting to these dispositions, saving grace also would be conferred on all. The eighth Article, as we have seen, maintained that “all men are not drawn by the Father to come to the Son.” Andrewes’ comment on this is, “not drawn so as that they come. . . . The cause of their not being drawn, or so drawn, is the depraved will of man, not the absolute will of God.” Elsewhere he remarks: “I do not dare presumptuously to advance

¹ *Presbyterians*, p. 345.

² Strype, Book IV, Cap. XVIII.

my own opinion or to condemn the Fathers, who for the most part affirm that we are elected and predestinated according to foreknowledge of faith, as Beza himself confesses. But in this (as it always appeared to me) they speak rather of the *series* and *order* which God observes in the act of predestinating than of the *cause* of predestination. But the chain some are wont to form in this way, others in that, as seems best to them. The Fathers seem to me to have been of this opinion, that there could be no election if it were not thus connected: first, that God loves Christ, then us in Christ; which the Apostle saith, that *He accepts us* in the beloved (Eph. i. 6); secondly, that He confers on us so accepted grace and faith; thirdly, that He elects us thus endowed and thus discerned from the rest; fourthly, that He predestinates us who are elect.

“God, that He may crown His own gifts in us, *chooses His own gifts* in us, to wit, the things which He gave first by loving us, that afterward He might choose them thus given. . . . The chain of the moderns plainly takes away all election; by which chain God is made to appoint these to salvation and those to eternal perdition *by the first act, and that absolute together and at once* . . . after which destination what place there is for election I cannot understand, nor how this destination itself can be called election.” The result was that Whitgift bent somewhat on the subject, supporting Baro in his office, in spite of requests which were forwarded to him that he would deprive him of his appointment, resting content instead with the caution that he should not any more meddle with the disputed points.

At the same time it is worthy of note that Whitgift's Calvinism may easily be exaggerated. He was no blind follower of Calvin, accepting implicitly everything which bore his name and stamp. It is true that as late as 1595 he said that if men thought Calvin wrong they should say so without mentioning him by name;¹ but in his letter to the Canons of Lincoln of June 19, 1590, he blamed Griffin, the Dean, for using language which appeared to attribute actual sinfulness to Christ, although the same language might be found in "Luther, and Calvin, and some others, whom," adds the Archbishop and his colleagues, "we also in our judgment therefore do mislike." Whitgift continued: "And because you shall not doubt of my opinion in this matter, I would have you to understand that I think Luther, in saying Christ was *omnium maximus latro, homicida, adulter, fur, sacrilegus, blasphemus*, etc., and whosoever followeth him therein, or any other, writing or speaking so intemperately and unadvisedly, do write and speak contrary to the phrase of Scripture and to the truth, and indeed blasphemously. For although the Scripture teacheth us, that Christ was reputed such an one, yet to say simply that He was so, or that He had sin, or committed sin, or can properly or simply be called a sinner, no Christian man will dare to affirm or justify. That is my resolution, which I would have you and all men to know. And those that shall impugn this, or teach to the contrary, I will prosecute with extremity and to the extremity."² Years before, in his "Defence of his answer of the Admonitions," he

¹ See Bright, *The Roman See in the Early Church*, p. 466.

² Strype, Book IV, Cap. IV.

had said, "I reverence M. Calvin as a singular man, and worthy instrument in Christ's Church, but I am not so wholly addicted unto him that I will condemn other men's judgments that in divers points agree not fully with him, especially in the interpretation of some places of the Scripture, when as, in my opinion, they come nearer to the true meaning and sense of it in those points than he doth."¹ One more example of his independent character will suffice. In the course of a letter in support of Barret, part of which has already been quoted, he remarked, "to traduce Calvin and other learned men in pulpits, he could by no means like; neither did he allow the same towards Augustine, Jerome, and other learned Fathers. Which, nevertheless, had often and many times been abused in the University without control. And yet if a man would have occasion to control Calvin for his bad and unchristian censure of King Henry VIII, or him and others, in that peremptory and false reproof of this Church of England, in divers points, and likewise in some other singularities, he knew no article of religion against it. Much less did he know any cause why men should be so violently dealt with for it; or termed ungodly, popish, impudent. For the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon them."²

¹ *Works*, I, p. 436.

² Strype, Book IV, Cap. XIV.

CHAPTER VIII

WORK AS PRIMATE

THE last ten years of Elizabeth's reign were a period of comparative calm. The repression of the Puritans had been extensive, for in 1593 Parliament passed an Act which was the culmination of the measures taken against Puritanism. By this Act, persons who refused to come to church, or who either printed, wrote, or expressed words against the Queen's power over ecclesiastical matters, or who attended conventicles, were to be imprisoned, while obstinate offenders were to be expelled from the country. "Provided always, and be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any such person or persons, which shall offend against this Act as aforesaid, shall not within three months next after they shall be convicted of their said offence, conform themselves to the obedience of the laws and statutes of this realm, in coming to the church to hear divine service, and in making such public confession and submission . . . abjure this realm of England, and all other the Queen's Majesty's dominions for ever, unless her Majesty shall license the party to return, and thereupon shall depart out of this realm at such haven or port, and within such time, as shall in that behalf be assigned and appointed by the said justices before whom such abjuration shall be made, unless the same

offender be letted or stayed by such lawful and reasonable means or causes, as by the common laws of this realm are permitted and allowed in cases of abjuration for felony; and in such cases of let¹ or stay, then within such reasonable and convenient time after, as the common law requires in cases of abjuration for felony as is aforesaid.”²

Nor had Parliament yet fully learned the lesson of the difference between Royal Supremacy and Parliamentary control, and in 1593 the Queen sent another exceedingly sharp message to the Speaker:—“Mr. Speaker, if you perceive any idle heads, which will meddle with reforming the Church and transforming the commonwealth, and do exhibit any Bills to that purpose, her Majesty’s pleasure is that you do not receive them until they be considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things.”

We have been so concerned with Whitgift as the disciplinarian of the Puritan party in the Church, that it has been necessary to neglect other aspects of his work during his tenure of the archbishopric. It is now advisable to turn to these. In most of this work, too, we shall see him as a disciplinarian, for the Puritans were by no means the only persons who required to be put in mind of their duty and compelled to obey orders. The standard of learning among the clergy was unfortunately decidedly low, and Whitgift did his level best to raise that standard. A most important order on this subject was issued by the Convocation of 1586. “Every minister having cure, and being under the degree of Master of Art and Bachelor of Law, and not

¹ *i. e.* hindrance. ² Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, No. lxxxvi.

licensed to be a public preacher, shall, before the 2nd day of February next, provide a Bible and Bullinger's *Decades* in Latin or English, and a paper book. And shall every day read over one chapter of the holy Scriptures, and note the principal contents thereof briefly in his paper book. And shall every week read over one sermon in the said *Decades*, and note likewise the chief matters therein contained in the said paper book. And shall once in every quarter, viz. within a fortnight before or after the end of the quarter, show his said notes to some preacher near adjoining, to be assigned for that purpose.

“Item. The Bishop, Archdeacon, or other Ordinary, being a public preacher, shall appoint certain grave and learned preachers, who shall privately examine the diligence, and view the notes of the said ministers, assigning six or seven ministers, as occasion shall require, to every such preacher that shall be next adjoining to him. So as the ministers be not driven to travel for the exhibiting of their notes above six or seven miles, if it may be. And the said preachers shall by letters or otherwise, truly certify to the Archdeacon or other Ordinary of the place, themselves being public preachers, and resident within or near to their jurisdiction, and for want thereof, to the Bishop himself; who do perform the said exercises, and how they have profited therein, and who do refuse or neglect to perform the same.

“The Archdeacons and others receiving the said certificates, shall signify the same once in the year to the Bishop, and that about Michaelmas.

“Item. Such as shall refuse to perform the exer-

cises, or shall be negligent therein, and shall not, after admonition by the Bishop or Archdeacon or other Ordinary aforesaid, reform himself, if he be beneficed, shall be compelled thereunto by ecclesiastical censures. If he be a curate, shall be inhibited to serve within the jurisdiction:

“Item. The Bishop, Archdeacon, etc., shall carefully look that the ministers serving cures do, according to her Majesty’s injunctions, instruct the youth in the Catechism, with additions, set forth by public authority. And such of the ministers as by examination and trial shall be found of reasonable ability, may, by the Archdeacons and Ordinaries, being public preachers, as aforesaid, be permitted to expound, standing in their stalls only, the points of the said Catechism only, with the additions, to their parishioners, until they shall be found meet to be by the Bishop tolerated, or authentically licensed, to preach.

“Item. Such Masters of Art and Bachelors of Law as have any cure, and are not licensed to preach, if within six months after admonition to them by the Bishop, Archdeacon, or other the said Ordinaries (whose consciences are herein to be burdened) they shall not be lawfully licensed to preach by the Archbishop, or by the Bishop of the diocese, or by one of the Universities, shall be tied to the said exercises, until they be found meet, and licensed to be preachers.

“Item. Every licensed preacher shall yearly, *in propria persona*, preach twelve sermons at the least within every diocese where his benefice doth lie. Of the which twelve, eight at the least shall be in his own cure. But if the said licensed preacher have two bene-

fices, then he shall preach eight sermons at each of his benefices every year at least, and shall yearly make particular and true certificate thereof to the Bishop of every said diocese, betwixt Easter and Midsummer, or otherwise to be proceeded against for their negligence.

“Item. The Bishop, or Archdeacon, or other Ordinary, with the advice or consent of the Bishop, shall appoint six or seven public preachers to preach by course every Sunday in the parishes within a convenient limit near adjoining to their habitation, where there is no licensed preacher. So that there may be in every such parish one sermon at the least every quarter. And the parties charged with the cure of the said parish shall bear the charges of the dinner and horse meat of the said preacher, and procure some minister near adjoining to his benefice to serve his cure that day in his absence, unless he have a curate of his own there.

“It is concluded, that the exercises above written, and no other, shall be henceforth publicly or privately used within any part of this province.”¹

Care, too, was needed that only the right men should be admitted to Holy Orders. Constant complaints were made of the ignorance and disability of the clergy, and in November 1598, a Canon was made ordering the bishops to send every year, at Michaelmas, a list giving the number, names, degrees, and qualities of all ordained, or admitted to any benefice. The bishops appear to have been negligent over this matter, and Whitgift wrote sharply to them, complaining that they had not that vigilant care in executing this, and other orders, that was to be expected of them. Accordingly

¹ Strype, Book III, Appendix No. xxxii.

he ordered them to send him forthwith "the foresaid several certificates in the said constitutions mentioned, by the way of public instruments, under your episcopal seal, for the more credit of them. And to be more careful hereafter in certifying those things which are yearly to be certified than hitherto you have been. Otherwise I shall be drawn to take such course here, by proceeding against you and your officers, not only as violators and contemners of their canonical obedience in that behalf due, but also of her Majesty's authority and express commandment. And so being not a little grieved with your negligence and carelessness herein, and expecting due amendment and reformation, as well in the premises as in the execution of all the other parts of the said constitutions, for the good of the Church and our own credits, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God." ¹

Similarly, Whitgift did what he could to see that livings were properly filled up. In 1593 or 1594 he appealed to the Queen regarding the manner in which benefices in the gift of the Lord Keeper were bestowed. She agreed with his request that greater consideration might be given to the claims of scholars in the Universities. The Heads of Colleges at Cambridge thanked him for his intercession, remarking that "by this means the University would increase, and that the future hopes would bring many to come and study there, and to remain at their studies, to grow to some degree of ability in learning." His action "would turn to the great benefit both of the commonwealth and of religion too, when every parish should be provided with men

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXIV.

of ability and good learning, sent forth from the University to teach and instruct the people.”¹

Nor was it English scholars only that he cared for. Paule tells us that “as our own countrymen of all sorts had daily taste of the kind disposition of this our Archbishop, so was it not wanting unto sundry men of learning and quality of foreign countries, whom he entertained both with his love and his bounty. He sent sundry times much money to Master Beza out of his own purse, besides the general collections and contributions to Geneva, which he also greatly furthered.” Similarly he says that “he relieved and entertained into his house for many years together, divers distressed ministers out of Germany and France, who were enforced to forsake their own countries; some by banishment, others by reason of wars and extremity which they were put unto. And at their departure he dealt bountifully with them; as namely Drusius, Renicherus, Frigevill and M. Buse, a French minister who read weekly a lecture in Latin in his chapel.”²

There was clearly much neglect of the important duty of catechizing the young in church week by week, and the orders of the year 1586 on this matter have already been quoted. Whitgift went further in September 1591, when he enjoined the bishops to see that children were catechized regularly, and brought to the church each Sunday and holy day. He complained that the bishops were neglecting the “ancient and laudable ceremony” of Confirmation, while the charge in the Baptismal Service that children should be brought to the bishop to be confirmed so soon as they could say

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XI.

² pp. 83 and 85.

the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, and be further instructed in the Catechism, was commonly omitted by the clergy. "Your Lordship is not ignorant that a great part of the dissoluteness in manners, and ignorance in the common sort, that reigneth in most parts of this realm, even in this clear light of the Gospel otherwise, ariseth hereof : for that the youth being, as it were, the fry and seminary of the Church and commonwealth, through negligence both of natural and spiritual fathers, are not, as were meet, trained up in the chief and necessary principles of Christian religion : whereby they might learn their duty to God, to their Prince, their country, and their neighbour : especially in their tender years, when these things might best be planted in them, and would become most hardly to be afterwards removed. This mischief might well, in mine opinion, be redeemed, if that, which in this behalf hath been wisely and godly provided, were so carefully called on and executed, namely, by catechizing and instructing in churches the youth of both sexes on the Sabbath days in the afternoon. And that (if it may be conveniently) before their parents and others of the several parishes, who thereby may take comfort and instruction also. One great inducement unto the learning of the rudiments of religion hath heretofore been observed to be that charge which, by the Book of Common Prayer, every minister should give, after baptizing the infants, to have them, so soon as they may learn, instructed in the Catechism : and having learnt it, to be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed. Which giving charge, I do hear, is for the most part omitted. This ancient and laudable cere-

mony of confirming children, in respect of a carefulness in fathers to have their children instructed, that after they might be confirmed, hath heretofore wrought much good where it was used. I am very sorry to hear that my brethren, the Bishops of my province of Canterbury, do so generally begin to neglect to confirm children : at least, to call for and exact both the use of it, and of the catechizing children in the church by the minister, and of parents to send their children, and to come thither themselves. These wants are now grown so common and offensive by the ill effects which they are found to yield, that I am in conscience urged very earnestly, and in the fear of God, to require your Lordship, and other my brethren the Bishops, according to your paternal care, and for the duty which you owe to God and His Church, both in your own visitations from time to time, and by your Archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, to give strait charge unto parents, to come themselves, or at least to send their children to the church at such times, and especially unto ministers, to expound unto them, and to examine the child in that little catechism which is allowed by authority. And also at the baptizing of infants to give the charge for bringing them unto the Bishop to be confirmed, which by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed. I do also hereby require at your Lordship's hands, to give warning unto the ministers of your diocese, that they cause such children of their parish only, that can say the Catechism, to be brought from time to time unto your Lordship to be confirmed, not only when you visit *triennially*, but also at other fit opportunities for such a purpose. And namely when you travel abroad

in your diocese to preach, and on market days, when you reside, and make your abode in any market town, whither the people of parishes thereabout do usually resort. Thus nothing doubting of your Lordship's forwardness and care herein, I commend you to God's holy protection." ¹

Nor was it only through the clergy that this work of giving religious instruction to the young was to be carried out. In the diocese of Canterbury alone, no less than 419 licenses to schoolmasters were issued in the thirty-five years ending 1614, covering practically every parish in the diocese. In view of the manner in which Popish recusants were teaching, schoolmasters were compelled to swear to the Queen's Supremacy, and to the Articles of Religion. Moreover, they were to take the children to the parish church on Sundays and holy days, and to instruct them in the Catechism. It may be worth while to quote such a license to a schoolmaster. "John by divine providence Archbishop of Canterbury, of all England Primate and Metropolitan, to all Christian people to whom these presents shall come, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. These are to let you understand, that upon receipt of sufficient testimony of the good life and conversation of William Swetman, of the parish of St. Margaret Pattens in London, fishmonger; and upon further examination of him, being first sworn in due form to the supremacy of the Queen's most excellent Majesty and subscribing to the Articles agreed upon by the clergy in *anno* 1562, we have licensed, and by these presents do license the said William Swetman, to teach and

¹ Strype, Book IV, Appendix No. xii.

instruct children in the principles of reading, and introduction into the *accidence*; and also to write, and cast accounts, in any parish within the city of London, or our peculiar churches of Canterbury within the said city. Enjoining him, that every week he do instruct his children and scholars in the Catechism made and set forth by Mr. Alexander Nowell, now Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London; and that he with his scholars, so many as shall be of the parish where he shall teach, do usually and commonly resort and repair, on all *sabbaths* and *festival days*, to the church of the parish where he shall so teach: and he with his scholars do reverently hear Divine service and sermons, and dutifully and diligently attend thereunto. And also we will, this our license to endure during his good behaviour and our pleasure: and no otherways. In witness whereof, we have caused this our seal of our office of principal registry to be put hereunto. Dated this 20th day of July in the year of our Lord 1599, and of our translation the 16th.”¹

There are two other matters, closely related to each other, which caused constant trouble in Elizabeth's reign, non-residence and pluralities. Regarding this he had not been too strict himself, for we have seen how he held the Deanery of Lincoln with the Mastership of Trinity, Cambridge, a canonry at Ely, and the rectory of Laceby. We have already noticed the action taken regarding pluralities by the Convocation of 1585; while in 1589 Convocation addressed the Queen explaining that pluralities were unavoidable, since there were scarce 600 benefices in England where the income was

¹ Strype, Book IV, Appendix No. .xl.

sufficient to maintain a learned clerk. The subject arose again in the 1597 Convocation, and a canon was passed limiting the evil so far as possible.¹

Nor was the patrimony of the Church likely to suffer while Whitgift was primate, and the Church of to-day owes him a lasting debt for the manner in which he preserved the property of the Church from alienation into lay hands, at a time when so many, influenced by the bad example set by those in high positions, were only too ready to enrich themselves at the expense of the clergy. We have already noticed his rebuke of the Queen for her alienation of ecclesiastical property. Even before his appointment to Worcester he had written warmly on this matter, as also on the subject referred to in the last paragraph. He wrote to Cox, the Bishop of Ely, in 1575, "that as touching impropriations, he thought they were very warily to be dealt in. For considering how that every man sought to pull from the Church; how also the temporalty did

¹ The following Canon was passed—"Quod nemini imposterum facultas sive indulgentia concedetur de pluribus beneficiis simul retinendis, nisi hujusmodi tantum, qui pro eruditione sua et maxime digni, et ad officium suum plenius praestandum maxime habiles et idonei consebuntur; nimirum, ut is, qui hujusmodi facultate fruiturus est, sit ad minimum artium magister, et publicus ac idoneus verbi divini concionator; ita tamen ut idonea etiam cautione obstrictus teneatur, de personali sua residentia in singulis beneficiis per bonam anni cujusque partem facienda, et quod ejusmodi beneficia triginta milliarum spatio ad summum non distent abinvicem. Denique quod idoneum curatum habeat, qui plebem ejus parochiae, in qua non residebit, instituat ac informet, modo facultates ejusdem beneficii talem commode sustinere posse, achiepiscopo vel ejus dioeceseos episcopo videbuntur" (see Cardwell's *Synodalia*, II, p. 150).

envy any prosperity in the clergy; and what enemies the most part of them were to the cathedral churches, bishoprics, colleges, and other places of learning; and that the most part of these consisted of impropriations; he feared, lest under the pretence of reforming the one, the dissolution and utter undoing of all the other would be sought for. Which, he added, would be the ruin of the Church at last, the fall of religion, and the decay of learning. He observed that only the clergy should be plagued thereby. For the temporal men would still keep their interests in their leases, that they had in such impropriations, as he himself perceived by some conferences that he had with some great men in that matter. That it stood them [the clergy] in hand to be circumspect. For that it would be the policy of some, under fair promises and pretences, to procure that they themselves should be the authors of their own harms. That this was a certain and sure principle, that the temporalty would not lose one jot of their commodity in any respect, to better the livings of the Church. And therefore his judgment was, to keep that they had, for better they should not be; they might be worse, and that he thought by many was intended. Again, where it is said, if the men [of the Church] joined benefice to benefice, etc., he acknowledged that was to be re-proved in such as had no care in doing their duties, not in such as laboured and were diligent. And that it was better and more for the profit of the Church, that some had many, than other some one. Moreover, that it was to be considered, how long and injurious leases there were of the most part of ecclesiastical livings, dignities, prebends, and benefices, so that that

living which was worth to the farmer 200 marks was not worth to the incumbent £20, as he himself was able to prove in divers and sundry such kinds of livings : seeing also, that men had not nowadays that conscience in paying their duties, that they had in times past. Besides many other commodities that were wont to be incident to such livings, which were now utterly taken away. So that except it were lawful for men to join more livings together you should have a beggarly clergy, which would be the decay of learning, religion, and in time of the Church also. For that there would not be many meet livings for learned men, besides a few bishoprics. Wherefore he thought that such things, where they were amiss, were rather to be reformed in the persons that were not worthy of them, than by any common rule. In a word, that the temporality sought to make the clergy beggars, that they might depend upon them. And this would be one means whereby they purposed to bring it to pass.”¹

In 1584 Whitgift was successful in resisting the attempt to re-value all clerical incomes with a view to increasing the amounts of tenths and first-fruits payable to the Crown. On this matter he wrote a protest to Burghley. “It will, moreover, be a great discouragement to students in divinity, and a great hindrance to learning, when men shall see the reward of their labours to wax worse and worse; and the livings appointed for the ministers daily sought to be diminished. The temporal lawyer (whose learning is no learning anywhere but here at home), being born to nothing, doth by his labour and travel in that barbarous knowledge, purchase to himself and his for ever, a thousand pounds

¹ Strype, Book I, Cap. XII.

per annum, and oftentimes much more, whereof there are at this day many examples; and yet no man saith, '*Black is his eye.*'¹ The same is the state and condition of all other men, in what trade soever they be; but only the poor Divine, labouring all his life in true learning, in liberal sciences, and in the study of divinity (the lady and princess of all sciences), cannot be suffered to enjoy that which is already prepared for him; and both by God's law and man's law belonging of right unto him, and to no other. Temporal men, for the most part, are not valued, but either in land or goods, to the tenth part of their known ability; the poor Divine having his living valued to the utmost in all duties to her Majesty, and other common charges far passing; and that in a most willing mind, yet so still to be enhanced. I trust that Julianus the Apostate hath no scholars in the Court; for he, by taking away the reward of learning, sought utterly to extinguish all learning, and so consequently Christianity: saying in derision, *He did that which was most meet and profitable for Christians, scil. that they being made poor, might sooner come to the kingdom of heaven*: seeing the Gospel promiseth the kingdom of heaven to those that be poor: and that Christ saith, that *none can be His disciples, unless they forsake all and follow Him.*"²

A similar attempt was made in the following year, and again Whitgift wrote to Burghley. This time he pointed out that "where in every Parliament, and especially in the last, there were great exclamations against an unlearned ministry, if this suit should be granted, it

¹ "To say black's his eye, i. e. to vituperate, to blame."—Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, p. 92.

² Strype, Book III, Cap. XII.

would increase the number of unlearned ministers, and drive the learned and other students to some trade of life more gainful. For every waterman on the Thames, as he added, earned more by his labour, than several ministers in England would do by their benefices. That it should be considered, whether it were not the meaning of the preferrers of this suit, or of some others moving them thereunto, to bring such of the clergy as they pleased into bondage and awe, for fear of enhancing their livings. Whereby it might come to pass, that the wayward sort should be greatly countenanced and increased, and such as were dutiful in observing the laws discountenanced and decreased, which was very likely intended, that they which could not prevail in Parliament might this way be revenged.”¹

Over against the Puritan attack on the English Church there was the constant attack of the Romanists. The Queen had been excommunicated in 1570 by the Bull “*Regnans in Excelsis*”; the English Roman Catholics had separated from the communion of the National Church; a number of Jesuits and seminary priests were at work; while a literary attack on the position of the Church was being engaged in. Whitgift did not put pen to paper to join in this literary controversy, but from his official position was necessarily engaged in the suppression of the recusants. It is of more interest to note a letter of his, written in the year 1593, from which we learn that some of the Roman priests were being won over to the English Church, and thereby suffered much hardship. “Among such priests as come over from beyond the seas to pervert

¹ Strype, Book III, Cap. XIV, and Appendix No. xxvi.

her Majesty's subjects, both in religion and obedience, it pleaseth God, by conference and other good means, to convert some to the truth. To whom also it pleaseth her Majesty, of her gracious goodness, to grant pardon. And forasmuch as divers of them, being pardoned, are altogether destitute of maintenance, and driven to great extremity through the same, a great temptation to them to revolt, and a discouragement to others to follow their example of conversion, and a slander to this State, I am moved with Christian pity and compassion to pray your Lordship to move the better and wealthier sort of the clergy within your diocese, to yield some contribution towards their relief, until they may be otherwise provided for (as some of them are). And the same contributions to send unto me, with as convenient expedition as you may. Our adversaries plentifully reward and maintain such as fly from us to them. And these priests, while they remained Papists, lacked nothing. A great want of charity, and shame it were for us, after their conversion to suffer them to beg, or else to die, or to revolt from lack. If it were not for one or two, some of them had been in that case or now. Who being no longer able to endure that charge, the poor souls shall be driven to the beforenamed extremities, without your charitable relief. The burden will be very easy divided among so many, which otherwise is importable to such as do now sustain it. And therefore I heartily pray you to have good consideration hereof, and to deal in this case as you would be dealt withal in the like. And so with my very hearty commendations, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God." ¹

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. X.

As it was necessary for Whitgift to insist upon obedience to the Church's rules regarding catechizing, so also had he to insist upon obedience to its regulations concerning marriage. In November, 1598, he issued the following order to his suffragans:—"That whereas by the constitution made in the last Convocation, and by her Majesty under the Great Seal confirmed, among other things the Ordinary's power was limited in granting of licenses for celebrating marriage within a competent time fit for so holy an action, namely, betwixt the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, and to a prescript place, that is, in the parish church where the parties to be married, or their parents or governors dwelt; and where, by the said constitutions, no minister is warranted to marry any parties, unless he have a license sufficient from such Ordinary as by the said constitutions was warranted to grant it, or that the banns were three several festival days published at the time of the morning prayer; the penalty whereof was, by that provincial constitution, that the minister who did offend should be suspended from his function for three years. That all this notwithstanding, there came daily complaints to him out of several parts of this province, that some ministers, neither regarding her Majesty's pleasure, nor careful of their [the Bishops'] credits, did marry those who came to be married at unseasonable hours, others never stayed asking the banns three several festival days, as is by law required, but did ask them twice upon some holy day, and the third time the next morning, when they were married (as if ordinances were to be restrained and ministers left at large to break all good order); for redress and

prevention of all which disorders he had thought good, and did hereby require his Lordship to give both public and particular warning to all the ministers of and within his diocese, that they should observe the hours as well as the places limited in the foresaid constitution; and not otherwise marry any, either licensed or by banns published, and marry only such inhabitants within their parishes, not licensed otherwise, who were three several festival days publicly asked, upon the penalty within the provincial constitutions inflicted. Which his Lordship and his officers, whom in that case it concerned, were to have a vigilant care to see diligently observed, for the avoiding of all future scandals and offences, which might justly grow thereon.”¹

Such an order was no mere stage thunder. Whitgift could threaten, and he could also act. Nor was he a respecter of persons, for in 1601 he took action against Dr. Thomas Monford for breach of these orders. Monford was the man whom Whitgift had selected in 1599 to preach the sermon at the dedication of his hospital at Croydon. The charge brought against him was that of performing a clandestine marriage between the Earl of Hertford and Frances Pranel, a widow. The rite had been performed out of their parish church (in the private house of the Earl), without banns having been asked, and without license or dispensation. Monford was suspended for three years, but on pleading to the Archbishop that he had acted through error and ignorance, he was absolved. In the same year action was taken against Thomas James, of Tedworth, Oxfordshire, and Mary James, *alias* Fulk, who had been married

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXIV.

without their banns having been thrice called. They humbly petitioned to be absolved from the excommunication under which they had placed themselves by their action. This was done, penance being inflicted. They were required to make a public statement of their offence in their parish church one Sunday morning after the reading of the Gospel. An alternative, however, was provided, "that in respect the parties are already married, and have so continued the space of two years almost, this penance may be commuted into a pecuniary mulct, to be bestowed upon the poor."¹

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXVIII.

CHAPTER IX

THE FOUNDATION OF TRINITY HOSPITAL, CROYDON

As a bachelor, Whitgift did not feel the necessity of accumulating possessions for the benefit of those who should come after him. He was able, instead, to build for himself, in his own lifetime, the monument by which he is best remembered—the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Croydon. The work was taken in hand at the end of 1595, the letters patent with license in mortmain being dated November 22, 1595. The work of building was commenced in January of the following year, and completed in 1599. Finch, the vicar of Croydon, was employed by the Archbishop to make the necessary contracts, and to overlook and pay the workmen. The total sum of money expended on the work up to September 29, 1602, was £2,716 11s. 11d., while the original value of the endowment of the hospital and school from the primate was £185 4s. 2d. Whitgift appears to have taken a close interest in the carrying out of the work, and himself decided on the text of Scripture to be carved over the main door. He wrote down several sentences before he came to a final decision. It must have been difficult to decide where all were so appropriate—

Psalm xliv.—*Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperum.*

Prov. xiv.—Qui miseretur pauperis beatus erit.

Honorat Dominum, qui miseretur pauperis.

Prov. xix.—Foeneratur Domino, qui miseretur pauperis.

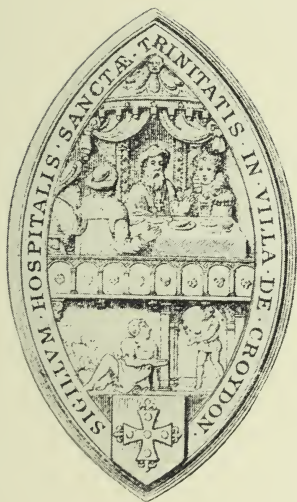
Prov. xxviii.—Qui dat pauperi non indigebit.

Qui despicit deprecantem, sustinebit penuriam.

Luc. xi. Date eleemosynam, et ecce ! omnia munda sint vobis.

The final selection was the passage from Proverbs xxviii, "qui dat pauperi non indigebit." The seal, which is mentioned in the deed of foundation, was similarly most probably of Whitgift's own designing or choice. It is elliptical in shape, bearing the legend, "Sigillum Hospitalis Sanctae Trinitatis in villa de Croydon," and is divided into two parts by a band of arcading, the upper containing a representation of Dives feasting with his friends, while in the lower portion appear Lazarus and the dogs at the rich man's gate, while a servant is bestowing food. Below are the arms which were granted to Whitgift in 1577, argent on a cross fleury sable, five bezants.

The statutes provided for the reception of at least thirty poor persons of both sexes, and so many more up to forty in all as the revenues might be sufficient to bear. One of the brethren, who was also to act as schoolmaster, was required to say public prayers morning and evening on all week-days except Wednesday and Friday mornings and Saturday afternoons, on which occasions, as also on all Sundays and festivals,



SEAL OF TRINITY HOSPITAL, CROYDON.

Page 132.

the brethren were to go to the parish church. The custos or warden was to receive £6 13s. 4d. a year, and every brother or sister £5 a year, together with wood, corn and other provisions. Rooms were to be reserved in the hospital for the founder, who loved to make use of its quietness and peace, and live for a few days at a time with the inmates, sharing their table. The statutes made provision for this: "I do ordain, and my will is, that the chamber over the hall, and the two chambers over the inner gatehouse shall be reserved to myself and to my own use during my life; and after my death my will and meaning is, that my executors shall have and enjoy the said chambers for one whole year after my death; and that, after the expiration of the said year my brother George Whitgift shall have and enjoy the same chambers during his life: provided always that he do not assign the same over to any other, nor place any therein, unless it be some of the members of that my hospital; and after his death or relinquishment, the same chambers to remain to the warden of the said hospital and his successors for ever."

The hospital was to be not only an almshouse but a school as well. Accordingly he lays down in the statutes that "I ordain and appoint that the poor brother appointed to be the schoolmaster shall be a parson well qualified for that function, that is to say, an honest man, learned in the Greek and Latin tongues, a good versifier in both the foresaid languages, and able to write well (if possible it may be), which poor brother appointed to that office, and qualified and placed as afore, shall have for his lodging and dwelling place, during the time that he continueth schoolmaster, that

house which I have builded for that purpose, adjoining to the said Hospital . . . and shall also have the sum of twenty pounds yearly for his stipend, to be paid quarterly, together with further commodities of corn or wood as hereafter shall happen to be allotted to other of the poor brethren of the said Hospital." The schoolmaster was to teach freely the poor children of Croydon, "but yet it shall be lawful to and for the said schoolmaster to receive that which is voluntarily bestowed upon him by any of the said poorer sort of parishioners, and for the children of such as be of the better sort of the parishioners of Croydon."

Stow has left an interesting account of the foundation of the Hospital, and explains why it was carried out in the Archbishop's lifetime. "This year the most reverend father, John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, did finish that notable and memorable monument of our time, to wit, his Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Croydon, in the county of Surrey, by him there founded, and builded of stone and brick, for the relief and sustentation of certain poor people. As also a fair school-house for the increase of literature, together with a large dwelling-house for the schoolmaster's use, and these premises he, through God's favourable assistance, in his own life time performed and perfected, for that (as I have heard him say) he would not be to his executors a cause for their damnation, remembering the good advice that an ancient father hath left written to all posterity, 'Tutior via est ut bonum quod quisquis post mortem sperat agi per alios, agat dum vivit ipse per se': it is a way far more safe for a man to do good and charitable deeds by himself, whilst he liveth, than to

hope that others will do the same for him after his death.”¹

The dedication of the Hospital and chapel took place on July 9 and 10, 1599. On the former day “the said most reverend Father, the founder, at his palace at Croydon, in the presence of Tho. Redman, Notary Public, committed his place to the reverend Father, Richard Bishop of London, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, to dedicate and assign it to divine worship, and to the celebration of divine things, and to the preaching of the word; as much as he might *de jure*, and by the laws and statutes of this realm; and name the same chapel by the name of *The chapel or oratory of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity, in Croydon, of the foundation of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury*. And to proceed to decree and do in the said business according to the statutes, laws, and canons, ordinances, rites, and customs of the Church of England on that behalf established and now used and observed. And then the most reverend Father decreed, that at the time of the dedication of the said chapel or oratory, the godly prayers should be celebrated, and a holy sermon should be publicly preached. And he appointed for that turn Tho. Monford, S.T.P., to be Preacher, and appointed the day wherein the business aforesaid should be done, which was the 10th of the present month, 1599.”

“On which 10th of July, between the hours of eight and twelve, the Bishop of London, personally present in the chapel, in honour and reverence of the Most Reverend, took on him the burden of the execution of the said commission or deputation. And, by virtue of

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 791.

the said commission, dedicated the said chapel or oratory to the divine worship, by the celebration of the divine offices, and preaching and setting forth God's word as much as by right he could, and as by the statutes and laws of this kingdom he might. Dedicating it by the name of *The chapel or oratory of the Holy Trinity*, etc. And openly and publicly denounced it so dedicated and assigned; and that it ought so to remain for future times. Which, being so done, then and there prayers were made unto God, according to the form prescribed in the book of public prayers established by authority of Parliament, and immediately a sermon was preached by Tho. Monford, S.T.P. Present there the Bishop of Chichester and a great many more, as Mich. Murgatrod, George Whitgift, George Paul." ¹

There were evidently in the sixteenth century people who believed that the Archbishop of Canterbury was rolling in riches, and that it would be a good thing partly to disendow him. We have seen how Whitgift took a firm stand on behalf of the patrimony of the Church, and he was equally prepared to resist any attempt to touch the property pertaining to the see of Canterbury. About the time of the foundation of the Hospital it was given out by some that he had grown very wealthy. Probably this was done with a view to induce the Queen to obtain some of his revenues, and Elizabeth, we remember, bore none too good a name regarding her dealings with episcopal property. Whitgift accordingly drew up an account of all the lands which he had purchased up to date, November 1599. Lest men should think that he had grown rich out of the

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXV.

income of the Archbishopric, he added a statement regarding his income from that source. "The archbishopric is no better to me than it was to my late predecessors: and I hope I bestow it as well as they did. But whosoever saith that this archbishopric is yearly worth £6000 or worth any way, in ordinaries or extraordinaries, £3000, must answer to God at the least for vain speeches, that I term them no worse. And yet out of that which any way I receive, there goeth in annuities, pensions, subsidies, and other duties to her Majesty £800 at the least. And then what remaineth is soon known. Any other ways I receive not one penny. The land which I had before mine advancement, and which I have purchased since, my brethren have: those excepted which I have bestowed upon mine hospital." ¹

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXV.

CHAPTER X

LAST DAYS

QUEEN ELIZABETH died on March 24, 1603. Whitgift was with her in her illness and at the end, and the prayer which was written for her on the day before her death appears to have been his composition: "O most heavenly Father, and God of all mercy, we most humbly beseech Thee to behold Thy servant our Queen, with the eye of pity and compassion. Give unto her the comforts of Thy Holy Spirit, work in her a constant and lively faith, grant unto her true repentance, and restore unto her, if it be Thy will, her former health and strength both of body and soul. Let not the enemy, nor his wicked instruments, have any power over her to do her harm. O Lord, punish her not for our offences, neither us in her. Deal not with us, O Lord, as we have deserved; but for Thy mercy's sake, and for Thy Christ's sake, forgive us all our sins; and prolong her days, that we may still enjoy her to the glory of Thy Holy Name, and joy of all such as truly fear Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen." ¹

The coming of James VI of Scotland to be James I of England involved considerable anxiety for churchmen. What would be his policy as regards ecclesi-

¹ Strype, Book IV, Cap. XXIX.

astical matters? On the one hand men remembered that he was the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who had been an ardent papist; while on the other hand the Presbyterian system had been set up in Scotland in the place of episcopacy. "At Rome," we are told, "his accession was celebrated with solemn prayers and processions. And before this Clement VIII had let him know that he was the subject of his prayers as the son of so virtuous a mother: that he desired for him all kinds of prosperity, temporal and spiritual, and trusted yet to see him a Catholic."¹ The Puritans were as full of hopes as the papists, for he had signed the Covenant, and in the General Assembly at Edinburgh in 1590 had praised God that he was king over such a Church, the sincerest Church in the world. He had expressed his views of the Church of England in language which was by no means complimentary. "As for our neighbour Kirk in England, their service is an evil-said Mass in English; they want nothing of the Mass but the liftings." Whitgift took prompt care that the Anglican side of the case should be presented to him in as favourable a manner as possible, and sent Dr. Nevile, the dean of Canterbury, to offer the congratulations of the Archbishops and Bishops, and to find out what line the new king proposed to take. The choice, and it was mainly due to Whitgift himself, was a particularly wise one. "He was just the man to make an impression upon James, who was much affected by appearance. Dean Nevile came of that ancient stock which had been so conspicuous in the times of the Plantagenets. He had all the marks of

¹ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, II, 222.

high breeding about him. 'He had never his like,' wrote Hacket (*Life of Archbishop Williams*), 'for a splendid, courteous and bountiful gentleman.' Fuller terms him 'the magnificent Nevile.' And he was not only an ornamental man, but one who had won his spurs by his personal achievements. Successively Fellow of Pembroke, Master of Magdalene, and Master of Trinity at Cambridge, Dean of Peterborough and Dean of Canterbury, he had held each position with credit. He was high in the confidence of Whitgift, and, as Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, had been accustomed to royalty. Some years later King James, in his visit to Cambridge, March, 1614-1615, said 'he was proud of such a subject'; and there is little doubt that the new King was favourably impressed by the representative of the English Church at their first interview."¹ The answer made by James was decidedly encouraging, that "he would uphold the Church of England, as it was established by Queen Elizabeth, and was anxious to be informed on ecclesiastical subjects and the present state of the Church."

The new king was crowned by Whitgift, but from the beginning of the reign the Puritans made it clear that they would not give in without a struggle. While on his way to England he had been presented with the Millenary Petition,² so called because it was supposed to be signed by a thousand petitioners, though, in reality, the adherents consisted of 753 ministers only. The old subjects of controversy were again brought

¹ Overton, *The Church in England*, II, p. 3n.

² See Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, No. lxxxviii,

forward, the use of the sign of the cross in the sacrament of baptism, the questions addressed to infants in the baptismal service, the rite of confirmation, the surplice and square cap, the ring in marriage, bowing at the sacred Name of Jesus, the reading of lessons from the Apocrypha in public worship, pluralities, non-residence, unpreaching ministers. The petitioners asked for a better maintenance for the parochial clergy by a restoration to the Church of part, at least, of impropriations, for a redress of Church discipline generally, and last of all for a conference between the Puritan clergy and the Anglican clergy.

The King agreed to this last request, moved largely by his desire to show his theological learning and abilities as a controversialist, though the Universities and the clergy generally were opposed to the idea of such a conference. Whitgift was ordered by the King to cause his suffragans to inquire into the condition of their dioceses, the number of recusants, the state of incumbents and the value of their livings; while the archbishop forwarded to Hutton of York certain queries regarding subjects which might be debated, noting especially the following: (1) concerning lay baptism, (2) the sign of the cross on the child's forehead, (3) concerning praying in the Litany to be delivered from sudden death, since we ought so to live, that death should never find us unprepared.

The Conference met at Hampton Court on January 14, 1604. On the Church side were Whitgift, eight bishops, including Bancroft of London and Bilson, six or seven Deans, including Andrewes and Overall, two Doctors of Divinity, and one Archdeacon; while the

Puritan party were represented by Drs. Reynolds and Sparkes, Mr. Knewstubb and Mr. Chaderton. Though Whitgift was present he did not take the leading part in the debates, the leader on the Church side being Bancroft. This was an unwise selection, for Bancroft was particularly rude to his opponents. When Reynolds suggested doctrinal alterations in the Thirty-nine Articles, the Bishop of London interrupted him by saying that schismatics ought not to be heard against their Bishops, and that the Puritans' appearance in Turkey gowns showed that they wanted conformity to the orders and ceremonies of the Turks. On the first day the Puritans were not present, but they were admitted on January 16. The chief points in debate were purity of doctrine, the means to maintain it, church government, and the Book of Common Prayer. But though Whitgift did not take the leading place he was neither a silent nor a neglected member of the Conference. The past was raised against him, and he was placed in an awkward position by the request of Reynolds that the Lambeth Articles should be formally adopted. We should like to know what the Archbishop had to say on the matter, but Bancroft interrupted, attempting to put a stop to the proceedings. This called up the King, who administered a sharp rebuke to the Bishop of London. "My Lord Bishop, something in your passion I may excuse, something I must mislike. I may excuse you thus far, that I think you have just cause to be moved in respect that they traduce the well-settled government, and also proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of this meeting. I mislike your sudden

interruption of Dr. Reynolds, whom you should have suffered to have taken his liberty; for there is no order, nor can be any effectual issue of disputation, if each party be not suffered, without stopping, to speak at large. Wherefore, either let the Doctor proceed, or frame your answer to his motions already made, though some of them are very needless." On the subject of Confirmation Whitgift was weak. Reynolds argued that the administration of Confirmation ought not to be confined to the bishops. The Archbishop could only say that Confirmation was an ancient custom of the Church, to which Bancroft added, "It was more than this; it was an apostolical injunction."

The Conference was, to all intents and purposes, a failure from the Puritan point of view. The King said that they were aiming at a Scottish presbytery, "which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil," while "he would harry them out of the land" if they would not conform. The alterations made in the Prayer Book were few and unimportant, save the addition of the last part of the Catechism, which had formerly ended with the "I desire." One alteration in the Prayer Book may apparently be traced to the pen of Whitgift, the Prayer for the Royal Family added among the collects at the end of the Litany. As first issued it began, "Almighty God, which hast promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed, we humbly beseech Thee to bless our gracious Queen Anne, Prince Henry, and all the King and Queen's royal progeny. Endue them, etc." One cannot regret sufficiently the manner in which the bishops

flattered the King during the Conference, especially the words of Whitgift that "Undoubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit," words which come perilously near to blasphemy, and can only be excused by the primate's age and failing powers.

Whitgift's attendance at the Hampton Court Conference was his last public act of any importance. In the following month he caught cold on his barge when going to Fulham, and a few days later was seized by a paralytic stroke. He was visited by the King, who said, "He would beg him of God in his prayer, which, if he could obtain, he should think it one of the greatest temporal blessings that could be given him in this kingdom." The Archbishop lost his power of speech, all he could say being "*Pro Ecclesia Dei*." The end came on February 29, and on the 27th of the following month he was buried in the parish church of Croydon. Two noblemen who had formerly been his pupils, the Earl of Worcester and Lord Zouch, carried his banners, and Gervase Babington, bishop of Worcester, a former pupil at Trinity, Cambridge, preached the funeral sermon, his text being, "But Jehoida waxed old, and was full of days when he died; a hundred and thirty years old was he when he died. And they buried him in the city of David, among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward His house" (2 Chron. xxiv. 15-16). His tomb suffered severely in the fire at Croydon parish church in 1867, but has been carefully restored. The inscription on it, written by Dr. Charier, his chaplain, sums up the leading events in his life—

WHITGIFTA EBORUM GRIMSBEIA AD LITTORA NOMEN
 WHITGIFTA EMISIT. FOELIX HOC NOMINE GRIMSBEI
 HINC NATUS: NON NATUS AD HANC MOX MITTITUR HOSPES
 LONDINUM: INDE NOVAM TE CANTABRIGIA MATREM
 INSEQUITUR. SUPRAQ FIDEM SUAVI UBERE CRESCIT:
 PETRO FIT SOCIUS: PEMBRO: TRIADIQ MAGISTER:
 FITQ PATER MATRI CATHEDRAEQ PROFESSOR UTRIQ.
 E CATHEDRA LINCOLNA SUUM PETIT ESSE DECANUM
 MOX WIGORN PETIT ESSE SUUM: FIT EPISCOPUS ILLIC,
 PROPRAESES PATRIAE QUO NUNQUAM ACCEPTIOR ALTER.
 POST ANNOS PLUS SEX SUMMUM PETIT ANGLIA PATREM,
 PLUSQUAM BIS DENOS FUIT ARCHIEPISCOPUS ANNOS,
 CHARIOR ELIZAE DUBIUM EST, AN REGI JACOBO:
 CONSUL UTRIQ FUIT. SIS TU CROIDONIA TESTIS,
 PAUPERIBUS QUAM CHARUS ERAT. QUEIS NOBILE STRUXIT
 HOSPITIUM. PUERISQ SCHOLAM DOTEMQ RELIQUIT.
 COELIBIS HAEC VITAE SOBOLES QUAE NATA PER ANNOS.
 SEPTUAGINTA DUOS NULLO ENUMERABITUR AEVO.
 INVIDIA HAEC CERNENS MORITUR PATIENTIA VINCENS
 AD SUMMUM EVECTO AETERNUM DAT LUMEN HONORI.

Naturally opinions of Whitgift's character have varied. Those who occupy the Church position will regard him as a firm disciplinarian and upholder of the rules and regulations of the English Church against men who had accepted office in that body, but were attempting, from within, to subvert it. On the other hand it is but natural that those who inherit the Puritan tradition should regard him as a tyrant, only one shade less tyrannous than Laud. While he is not to be classed with the typical Anglican divines of the next generation, such as Andrewes, it is important to

notice that he acted as a stepping-stone between the Calvinists and the real Anglicans. He was in agreement with the former on the point of doctrine, and with the latter on the question of Church government. In his own lifetime this was clearly expressed by George Cranmer. "It may be remembered," he wrote to Hooker, "that at first the greatest part of the learned in the land were either eagerly affected or favourably inclined that way. The books then written, for the most part, savoured of the disciplinary style; it sounded everywhere in pulpits and in the common phrase of men's speech. The contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course. Many which impugned the discipline, yet so impugned it not, as not being the better form of government, but as not so convenient in regard of dangerous innovations likely to grow. One man there was . . . who stood in the gap and gave others respite to prepare themselves for the defence."¹

Immediately after his death he was both praised and blamed. The Archbishop of York wrote to the Bishop of Durham that "Many (no doubt) may and do lament, that his Majesty hath lost a faithful, good counsellor, the Church a great and notable pillar and patron, and myself also have special cause to sorrow for the want of such an ancient, constant, and dear friend."² On the other hand he was almost at once libelled by one Pickering, who was brought before the Star Chamber for his offence. One of the counsellors took the opportunity of adding his quota of praise to the memory of the Archbishop. According to Paule he said, "That

¹ Keble's *Hooker*, Book V, Appendix No. 2.

² Strype, Book IV, Appendix No. xlvii.

there was nothing more to be feared in his government (especially toward his latter time) than his mildness and clemency." Paule makes this the text of his own tribute of praise, and continues, "And he said that which was most true; for did he not, after that Udal and others were condemned unto death, draw upon him the dislike of his dear and honourable friend [Sir Christopher Hatton] in making earnest suit, and never ceased until he had obtained pardon for them at her Majesty's hands? And, besides the dismissal of Master Cartwright and his consorts out of the Star Chamber, did not divers gentlemen of special note find the same favour there, by his intercession, and were eased both of fine and punishment for entertaining the presses and printers before mentioned? The very truth is, I cannot sufficiently express his singular wisdom and clemency, albeit some younger spirits were of opinion that he was much to blame in that kind, and imputed it unto his years and want of courage, and sometimes would be bold to tell him that he knew not his own strength with her Majesty."¹ Stow speaks of him as "a man born for the benefit of his country and the good of the Church; wherein he ruled with such moderation, as he continued in his Prince's favour all his life; suppressing such new sects as in his time began to rise, as by his learned work of purpose written by him against such schisms does well appear;" while Fuller describes him as "the worthiest man that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy." Walton speaks of him as being "like the ark, which left a blessing upon the place where it rested; and in

¹ Paule, pp. 80, 81.

all his employments was like Jehoida, that did good unto Israel." ¹ The testimony of Harington, too, is worth quoting. "Being made Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Privy Council, he carried himself in that mild and charitable course, that he was not only approved greatly by all the clergy of England, but even some of those whom, with his pen, he might seem to have wounded: I mean these called Puritans, of whom he won divers by sweet persuasions to conformity. In the Star Chamber he used to deliver his sentence in good fashion, ever leaning to the milder censure as best became his calling." ²

Over against these tributes of praise stands the severe criticism of Macaulay. Quite naturally he follows the Whig tradition and terms him "a narrow-minded, mean and tyrannical priest, who gained power by servility and adulation, and employed it in persecuting both those who agreed with Calvin about Church government and those who differed from Calvin touching the doctrine of reprobation." ³ Macaulay's estimates of prominent men have so often been reversed by the judgment of later historians, that one is naturally prejudiced against this character sketch. But quite apart from any question of prejudice, it is clever but untrue. Here, as so often, Macaulay's wealth was unto him an occasion of falling. Its lack of accuracy can easily be measured by the charge of servility and adulation, a charge which, to say the very least, is the reverse of accurate. His rebuke of Elizabeth regard-

¹ Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² *Nugae Antiquae*, I, p. 9, edit. 1779.

³ Essay on Bacon.

ing the alienation of Church property ought to be sufficient to acquit him of that charge. Nor is it any more accurate to describe him as a persecutor, save in the sense that every man who enforces obedience to the rules of a society upon its members may be so termed; and in this disciplining of the Puritans he was as considerate as possible. His gentle treatment of Udal and consideration for Cartwright have already been mentioned. We gladly go back from Macaulay to Paule. "For he ever observed this rule, that he would not wound where he could not salve. And I leave to the report of the adversaries themselves, when he had that sway in government, and favour with her Highness, whether his carriage were not exceeding mild and temperate, and whether he did not endeavour rather by gentle persuasions and kind usages to win them, than (as the law and his place required) to pronounce sentence, or lay some sharp censure upon them. Hath he not many a time, when sentence hath been ready to be given by consent of all the commissioners, found some occasion to delay the sentence to another court day, and in the meantime so plied the delinquents and set on others to persuade them, as thereby many of them were won, which otherwise would never have been brought unto conformity? Wherein he was of Antoninus Pius' mind, who said, when he was taxed by Aurelius for like remissness and lenity, that he had rather save one citizen to Rome, than kill a thousand enemies. And yet they knew this Archbishop had courage enough in him, and credit, and authority to back him, if he would have extended it unto severity." ¹

¹ Paule, pp. 78, 79.

In a greedy and self-seeking age, none could point at him as a person who had enriched himself at the expense of the Church. "His advent to the bishopric of Worcester had been distinguished not by any alienation, but by his recovery for the see of two manors which had been fraudently leased to a courtier, and, further, by his compensating the lessee out of his own pocket. Similarly, at his promotion to Canterbury he recovered for the see another estate from the clutches of a courtier; and though he opposed the surrender of impropriate tithe by the colleges to which it had passed, he was ready himself to return much of what had come to him by increasing the stipends of the clergy. Such behaviour was notorious, and his generosity in money matters incontestable."¹

But it is as a disciplinarian that Whitgift must stand or fall. If the Church of England ought to be nothing but a conglomeration of sects, where every man may do that which is right in his own eyes, defying the laws laid down regarding doctrine, discipline and organization, then Whitgift was a persecutor. If, on the other hand, the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, and to insist that those who have accepted office in her communion shall obey the rules and regulations to which they have voluntarily agreed, then Whitgift was no persecutor, but an honest official of the Church. The work of a disciplinarian is, of necessity, an unpopular work, and so it is but natural that he was misunderstood by his opponents, and has been held up to scorn by the successors of his opponents. Moreover, the controversy was not regarding a mere

¹ Frere, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

matter of apparel, or the best system of Church government. Below this lay the question of the historic continuity of the Church of England. Should the national sentiment of religion be expressed by means of the old Church purified and reformed, or by a new organization built up on the foundation of the continental reformed Churches? That was the real question at issue, and accordingly the best summary of the life of Whitgift is the phrase he used when all other words failed to pass his dying lips, "Pro Ecclesia Dei."

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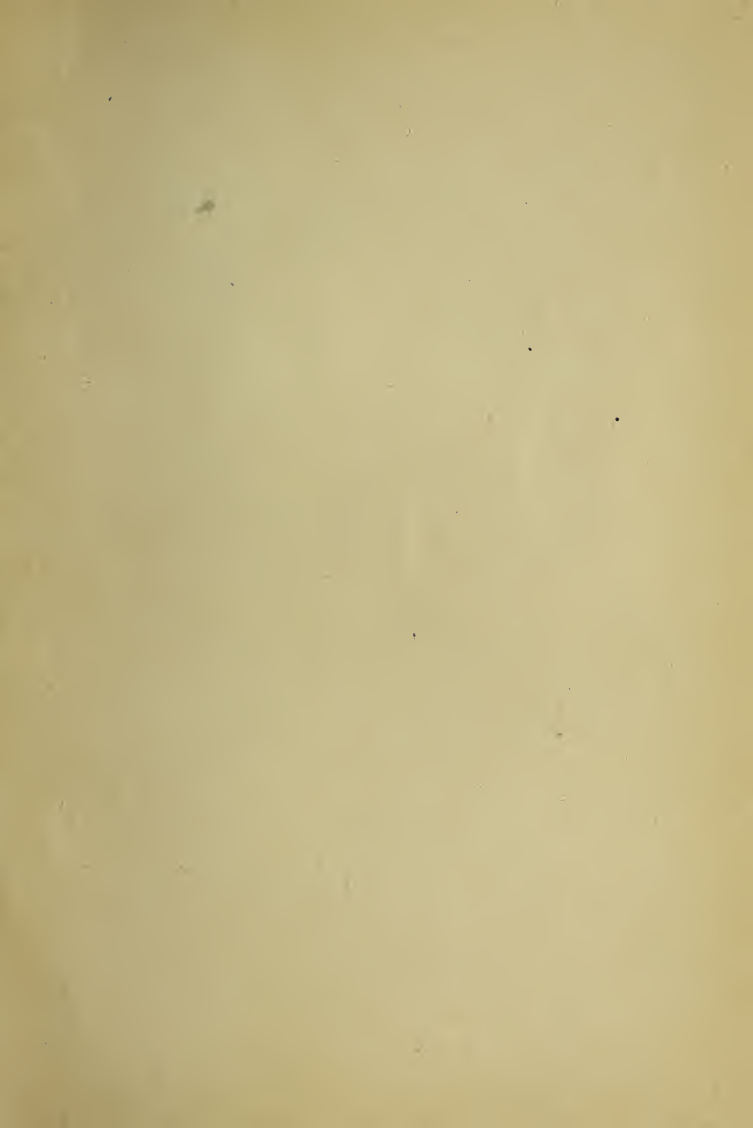
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